The Hiſtory

of Quintus Curtius, conteyning the actes of the greate Alexander, tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſhe by Iohn Brende.

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Thomas Barrington.

In ædibus Richardi Tottell.

Anno Domini.
1570.

Cum priuilegio.

Barrington

¶ To the right hygh and mighty prince, Iohn Duke of Northumberland, Earle marshall of England &c. Iohn Brende wisheth continuall prosperitie, wyth encrease of honour.

MAny haue wrytten, & experience beside declareth, how necessary Hystoricall knowledge is to all kynd of men, but specially to Princes and to others whiche excell in dignitie or bear authority in any cõmon weal: the same beyng counted the most excellent kynde of knowlege, the chiefest parte of ciuyll prudence, and the mirrour of mans lyfe. There is required in all magistrates bothe a fayth and feare in God, and also an outwarde policie in worldly thinges, whereof as the one is to be learned by the Scriptures, so the other must chiefely be gathered by reading of Hystories. For in them men may see the groundes and beginnynges of common wealthes, the causes of their encrease, of their prosperous maintenaunce, and good preseruacion: and againe by what meanes they decreased, decayed, and came to ruyn. There the vertues and vyces of men do appeare, howe by their good doynges they florished, and by theire euyll actes they decayed. How they prospered so lõg, as they maintened iustice, persecuted vice, vsed clemency and mercy, were liberall, religious, vertuous, and voyde of couetousnes: And contrariwise

how they fell into manyfolde calamities, miseries, & troubles, when they embraced vice and forsoke vertue. In histories it is apparant how daungerous it is to begyn altercacyons in a comon weith. How envye & hatreds oft rysing vpon small causes, haue ben the destruction of great kingdomes. And the disobeyers of hygher powers, and suche as rebellyd against magistrates, neuer escaped punishment, nor came to good ende. In them there be presydents for all cases that may happen, in folowing the good, in eschuyng the euyll, in auoydyng inconueniences, and in forseyng mischiefes. In them may be learned howe to temper in prosperitie, howe to endure in aduersitye, & after what maner men shoulde vse them selues bothe in tyme of peace and warre. As in all artes there bee certeyne pryncyples and rules for men to folowe, so in histories there be ensamples paynted out of all kynde of vertues, wherin both the dignitie of vertue and foulnes of vyce, appeareth muche more liuely then in any morall teachyng: there beyng expressed by waye of ensample, all that Philosophy doth teache by waye of preceptes. Thys is suche a kynde of knowledge, as maketh men apte euen with small experience either to gouerne in publike matters, or in their own priuate affayres: For by comparyng thynges past with thynges present, men may easely gather what is to be folowed, and what is to be eschued. And he whyche can reade them with suche iudgement, waying the tymes with the causes and occasions of thynges, shall bothe see moste deepely in all matters, best declare hys oppinion, and winne moste estimacion of prudence and wysedome. For if aged men be esteemed for the wysest by reason of theire experyence: Or if *Homer* paynted forth in the person of *Vlyxes* the Image of a perfyte wyse man: imputing the cause thereof to the knowledge he had gathered by tra-

trauellyng maney countreys, and by beholyng and marking the customes and maners of dyuers nacyons: Then suche as bee well expert in histories, and by the well applying of them, can take the due fruite perteyning to the same: must needes obteigne profoundnes of iudgement, with a stable and grounded wysedome. For in them men may beholde as it were before theyr eyes, bothe the whole worlde, and the gouernement therof, with the policies and lawes, the discipline, customes and manners of all people from the beginning. This is suche a thing, that whosoeuer is clerely voyde of it, though he be endued with neuer so great a witte otherwise, with suche aptnes of nature, or other goodly vertues: yet when he shall haue to doe in weyghty affayres, he shall fynde a certeyne mayme and imperfeccion, not onlye in ciuyll gouernement, but also in the matters perteyning to the warre.

For although in an excellent Capitayne nature must geue the chiefest partes, that is to saye, hardynes, stoutnesse of stomacke, with a naturall wysedome and vnderstanding (by whyche qualyties onely (experience thereunto adioyned) diuers haue become famous Capitaynes.) yet this is a thyng that geueth a greater policye, groundeth a deeper Iudgement, addeth a further ornament and glory, and fourmeth a perfectnes and an excellencye in a shorter space.

The shortnes of a mannes lyfe shortened besides by so many casualties, is the cause that men be taken awaye before they can gett suche an actuall experience as may make them perfecte, and commonly become rotten, before they canne attayne to a rypenes in knowledge. But by this kynde of learnyng in youth a manne is become aged, he hath knowledge without experience, he is wyse before it is looked for, he is become a counsaylour

the first houre, and a man of warre the first daye. The same thing hath ben verified in many, which in young age haue bene prudent counsellers, and in small experience politique Capitaynes. Alexander hereof is an euident ensample, who brought vp vnder Aristotle in learning, & so geuen to thys kynde of study, that he had *Homer* alwayes layde vnder his beddes hed (whereby he might be admonished of the vertues and office of an excellent Prince) entred into his kingdome when he was but xx. yeres of age: and neuertheless both established his owne estate wyth suche prudence, that within short space (besydes the enlargyng of hys own boundes) he subdued the greatest part of the worlde. And albeit he began so yong, and continued so smale tyme: yet no mannes actes be comparable to hys: being counted the moste excellent Captayne from the beginning. But if any man wyll impute the greatnes of his doinges to the perfect discipline the Macedones vsed in the warres, and to the politique Captaines, and experte souldiers, left to him by his father Philip: it shall appere euidently by the decay of realmes when they haue beene gouerned by imprudent Princes, and by the ouerthrowes the Romaynes receyued when they were conducted by euill Capitaynes, that no prudence of counsellours can take place, nor any discipline or experience of the souldiers can auayle, if the head be not a man of excellent vertue. There is nothing newe vnder the Sunne (as the wise man sayth) and it is impossible for any thing to chaunce eyther in the warre or in common policie, but that the lyke may be found to haue chaunced in times past. All which thinges layde vp in memorie, as in a place of store: men may alwayes be furnyshed for all chaunces that may occurre. Seing hystories be then so good and necessarie, it were muche requisite for mens in-

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ſtruccion, that they were tranſlated into ſuche tongues as moſt men myght vnderſtand them: & ſpecially the hiſtories of antiquitie, which both for the greatnes of the actes done in thoſe dayes, and for the excellency of the writers, haue muche maieſty and many enſamples of vertue. I therefore hauyng alwayes deſyred that wee Engliſhemen myght be found as forwarde in that behalfe as other nacions, which haue brought all worthy hiſtories into their naturall language, did (a fewe yeres paſt) attempt the tranſlacio of *Quintus Curtius*, and lately (vpon an occaſio) perfourmed & accompliſhed the ſame. Whiche Autour treating of the actes of the great Alexander, being figured in the Prophetes, Jeremy & Danyell, and mencioned in the firſte booke of the Machabies, ſeeme to haue bene borne, and brought forth into the worlde, not without a moſte ſpeciall prouidence & predeſtinacion of God: who proſpered ſo his proceedinges that (as Juſtine writeth) he neuer encountered with any enemyes whom he ouercame not, he beſeiged no citie that he wan not, nor aſſailed nation that he ſubdued not. Thys ſo worthy a matter I thought good to dedicate vnto your grace, folowyng their enſample that haue traueled in ỹ lyke ſtudy, whiche are wont to declare their good willes, by beſtowyng of their labours.

Therunto I was alſo moued the rather, by conſideryng the qualities of your grace, whiche ſeme to haue certeyne affinitie and reſemblaunce wyth ſuch as were the very vertues in Alexander. For *Arianus* writeth of him that he was of a ſemely ſtature, bolde in his enterpriſes, ſtout of ſtomake, moderate in pleaſures, wiſe in counſayle, and prouident to foreſee thinges, that he was excellent in conducting of an army, moſt politique in ordering his battailes, that he coulde encourage hys ſouldiers with apt wordes, and when need requi-

red take parte of their peryll. What partes of this be in your grace, let them iudge that haue knowen your actes in the warres, and your excellent seruice done, both in the tyme of the kynges maiestie that now is, and also in his fathers dayes of moste famous memorye. Although in doing hereof I haue not peraduenture satisfied all mennes expectacions: yet my truste is, that your grace will accepte the same in good parte, and consider that in a translation a man cannot alwayes vse his owen veyne, but shalbe compelled to tread in the Authors steppes, which is harder, & a more difficult thing to do, then to walke his owen pace.

¶ The first booke of Quintus Curtius supplyed of the Actes of the great Alexander, kyng of Macedon.



Philip of Macedone, whych by subduing of Greece, dyd kyckle bring hys countrey in reputacion, was the sonne of Amyntas: a man endued wyth wisedom, hardinesse, and all other vertues of a noble capitayn. The same Amyntas had by Euridice his wyfe, three sonnes: Alexander, Perdicas, and Philip, who was the father of great Alexander: with a daughter also called Eurione. The Queene Euridice being in amours with one that had maryed her daughter, conspired the death of the kyng her husband, to thintent to haue maryed with her sonne in lawe, and to make hym kyng: whyche thyng shee had brought to effecte, had not the treason and whoredom of ỹ mother, ben opened by the daughter in tyme. After the death of Amyntas, Alexander the eldest sonne enioyed hys fathers kyngdome: whyche in the begynnyng of hys reygne was so assayled on all

sydes

sydes, that he was driuen by force to purchace peace of the Illirians with money, by geuing his brother Philip in hostage. And afterwards by the same pledge, made a lyke peace with the Thebans, being the occasion that Philip did atteyne to such excellencye of knowlege and wisedome. For by reason that he was committed to the custody of Epamynũdas, who was a valiaunt Capitayne and an excellent Philosopher, he was brought vp in the trade of honest disciplynes, and princely maners, greatly profiting vnder a Philosopher of Pithagoras schoole, whome Epaminundas kept in hys house for the instructiõ of his sonne. In the meane season Alexander was slayn by the meanes of Euridice hys mother, whose former treason kyng Amintas her husbande had pardoned in respecte of the children had betwene them, lyttle thinking that shee woulde afterwardes haue beene their destructiõ. For when Alexander was dead, shee caused in lyke maner her other sonne Perdicas to be slayne: which Perdicas left behind him one sonne being a yong babe. About the same time Philip the yongest brother, being by good happe escaped out of prison, returned into Macedon, and

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not taking vpon him the name of king, remained a great whyle no otherwise but as Gouernour or Tutor to hys yong neuew. Neuertheles, afterwardes by occasion of sundry mischiefes growing in the state, the same being such as might not wel hang til the yong kyng shoulde come to hys age: for that he apeared to be a man of singuler actiuitie, & of no lesse skyll in feates of warre then in knowledge of Philosophie, was cõpelled by the people to take vpon him to be king of Macedon, whiche as then stoode in harde plyght, and great daunger of ruine. This was done 400. yeres after the buylding of Rome, and the 105. Olympiade. In the beginning of hys reigne he was combred with infinite troubles: for all the coũtreys neare about (as it were by a generall conspiracy) moued warre against him, and at one tyme sundry nacions swarmed together out of sundry partes to ouercome hys kingdome. Wherefore considering that it stoode him vpon to worke warely (not being able to matche them all at once) pacifyed some with fayre promyses, other wyth money, and the weakest he withstode with force. By that meanes he both made hys enemies afrayde, and confirmed the hartes

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of his people, which he founde discouraged, & sore amased. These thinges he wrought with great sleyght and fynesse of wytte in suche sorte that he minished not any parte of his honour, estate or reputacion, determining neuertheless as tyme shoulde serue, to deale with euery one aparte. His firste warre was with the Athenians, whome he ouercame by sleight and policy. And where it laye in his power to haue put them all to the swoorde, he set them all at libertie without raunsome. By whyche poynt of clemency (though it was but counterfaite, being done for feare of a greater warre at hande) yet it gate him great good will and estimacion vniuersally. After that he subdued the Peons, and from thence turned his power agaynst the Illirians, of whome he slewe many thousandes, and wanne the noble Citie of *Larissa*. That done he moued warre against the Thessalians, not for any desyre of their goods, or spoyle of their cõtrey, but of a policy to adde to his strength the force of their horsemen, whiche at those dayes were counted the chiefest of ỹ world. This his purpose he brought well to passe: for being sodeinly assailed, they were soone brought to subiection. So Philip ioyned the force of their horsemen vnto his foote-

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men, wherby he made his power inuincible. After all these things happely brought to passe, he tooke to wyfe Olympias, one of the daughters of Neoptolemus kyng of the Molossons. That mariage was concluded by the meanes of Arisba, who had the gouernment of Olympias, by maryng of her other syster called Troada. Thys maryage which he thought to haue made for his suertie, turned afterwardes to hys subuersion. For thinking to haue made hymselfe strong by thaffinitie of Philip, he was at length by him depriued of the whole kingdome, and ended his life miserably in eryle. Not long after this mariage, kyng Philip dreamed that he salue hys wyues wombe wonderfully swollen, and to hys seemyng a lyuely Image of a Lyon thereupon: by which dreame the diuyners and dream readers dyd enterprete that his wyfe was conceiued of a chylde, that shoulde be of a Lyons heart and courage: whiche interpretacion pleased hym muche. Afterwardes at the assault of a Citie called *Methron*, by shotte of an arrowe he lost hys ryght eye. Whereof, thoughe the displeasure was great, yet was hee content vpon theyr submission, to take them to mercy. He wanne

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also the citie of *Pagus*, and annexed the same vnto his kingdome. He inuaded the lande of the *Triballes*, and at one instant conquered it, with all the countreis therabout.

Thus hauing made hys kyngdome strong by subduing his neighbours: at his retourne home, his wife Olympias was delyuered of his sonne Alexander the 8. day of Aprill. Of these good fortunes the kyng reioyced no lesse then reason was, hauing stablyshed his countrey at home, subdued his enemies abrode, and gotten an heire to succede in his kyngdome. He could haue desyred no more of God, if ỹ mynde of man could euer be satisfyed, whiche the more it hath the more it coueteth. As dominion encreaseth, so doth also the desyre to haue more: whiche was well seene in Philip, that styll dyd compasse howe to growe great by takyng from his neighbours, & laye alwaies lyke a spye, awaytyng tyme and occasion, howe to catche frō euery man. Wherunto he had occasion ministred by the Cities of Greece: for whiles one dyd couet to subdue another and through ambicion were at strife who should be chief, by one and one, he brought them all at lenght to subiection, perswadyng the smaller states to moue warre a-

gaynst

gainſt the greater, and to ſerue his purpoſe, contryued the wayes to ſett them all toge-ther by the Eares. But at length when his practiſes were perceyued, dyuers Cities fearyng his encreaſe, confedered agaynſt hym, as their comon enemy, but chiefly the Thebans. Neuertheleſſe in neceſſitie when they were dryuen to wage men of warre, they choſe hym to be their generall Capi-tayn againſt the Lacedemonians, and the Phoceans, which had ſpoyled the Temple of Appollo. This warre he honorably at-chyued, ſo that by puniſhing of their ſacry-lege, he gate hym ſelfe great honour in all thoſe partes. But in thende eſpyeng ey-ther of thoſe countreyes to be brought low with the warre, he found the meanes to ſub due both the one and the other, compelling as well the ouercomers, as the ouercome to be his tributaries and ſubiectes. Then made he a voyage into Cappadoce, where kyllyng, & taking priſoners all the Princes thereaboutes, reduced the whole Prouince to the ſubiection of Macedon. He conque-red Olinthus, and wythin a whyle put his fote in Thrace. For where the two kinges of that countrey were at variaunce about the limittes of their kingdomes, and choſe

hym

hym to be theire arbitrer, he gladly tooke
vpon hym. But at the daye appointed fo
the Judgement, he came not thyther lyk
a Judge with a Counsell, but like a war
rier with an army, and to parte the strife
erpulsed both the parties from their kyng
domes. By this tyme young Alexando
was twelue yeres of age, & began to tak
great delyght in the feates of warre, shew
yng most manyfest signes of a nobls hart
and princely courage. He was very swif
of foote, and one day at a solempne gam
of runnyng called Olimpiacum, being de
maunded by some of his companions if h
would ronne a race wyth thē: gladly (quo
he) if here were kyngs sonnes to runne w
all. Another tyme when certein Embassa
dours of the Persyans came into Macedon,
Alexander whiche in hys fathers absenc
tooke vpon hym their entertainment, and
deuysyng with them of dyuers thinges, in
all hys communication there neuer passe
from hym one chyldish or vayne worde,
but eyther enquyred the state of their coun
trey, the maners of the people, the distaūc
of the wayes, the power of their king, or
order of his warres, with suche other lyke.
So that the Embassadors hauing meruaile

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therat, esteamed the prooke of the father to bee muche lesse, then the towardnes of the sonne, & that his courage was muche more, then was to be loked for in one of his yeres. As often as tydings came that the king his father had won any strong or rich Town, or obtayned any notable victory: hee neuer seamed greatly ioyful, but would say to his playe fellowes: mye father dooth so manye great actes, that he wil leaue no occasion of anye notable thyng for vs to doe together. Such were his words, such was his talke: whereby it was easye to coniecture what a man he would after proue in age, whiche so began in youth. His delight was not set in any kynd of pleasure, or gardeines of gain, but in the onely exercise of vertue, & desire of honour. The more authoritie that he receiued of his father, the lesse he would seme to beare. And althoughe by the greate encrease of his fathers dominion, it seamed y he shoulde haue the lesse occasion of warres, yet he did not set his delyght in vayne pleasure, or heapyng vp of treasure, but sought al the meanes he could to vse martial feats, & exercises of war: coueting such a kingdom wherin for his vertue & prowes, hee might purchase fame & immortalitie. That hope

neuer deceiued Alexãd nor any other, whẽ it happeneth in a mã of vertue & noble hart ẏ hath wil or occasiõ to put the same in vre. The charge & gouernaunce of thys young Prynce was cõmitted to sundrye excellent Maisters & gouernours, but chiefely to the great Philosopher Aristotle, whose vertue, lerning, & knowlege, King Philip so much estemed, that he would often say: he toke no greater cõfort in the birth of his sonne, then of that hee was prouided of suche a master for him as Aristotle, vnder whose tuiciõ he remained .x. yeres. Many things ther chaũced besides, wherby it was cõiectured, that Alexander should proue a man of great vaylour. For when his father sent to Delphos to receyue aunswer of the gods who should be his successor, the Oracle was geuẽ: that such one should not only succede him, but also be Lorde of the world, whom *Bucephalus* would suffer to sit vpon his back. This Bucephal was a passing faire horse, fierce & ful of courage, whiche Philip had bought of a Thessaliẽ for thirtene talẽts, & because of his fiercenes, kepte him within a brake of Iron barres: yet for all that he remained so fell and wood, that none durst come nere to dresse hym. Whereof the kyng was so weary,

weary, that he sought meanes to be ryd of the horse. It fortuned that Alexander came one daye wyth hys father vnto the stable. What a horse (quod he) is marred here for lack of good handling, and with that came more neare, and without any great difficultie gate vpon his backe, and vsing both the spurre & the rodde to the vttermoste, ranne and mannaged him so vp and downe, that the horse abid it very wel. And hauing rydden hys fyl, brought backe the horse again. As he alighted, the king for ioye embraced and kyssed him, and with teares in his eies sayd: O sonne seeke some other kyngdome meete for the greatnes of thy hart: for Macedon can not suffise thee. So ỹ euẽ then the forseyng father, did ful wel perceiue all his possessions farre insufficient for his sonnes hart. After this kyng Philip determined to make war against al Greece, for the maintenance wherof he thought it great aduantage, if he might first winne Bizancium, a famous citie on the sea coast. Wherfore cõmitting the charge and gouernment of hys realme to his sonne being then .xv. yeres of age, layde siege to the towne whiche made him great resistaunce. When he had consumed all his richesse and treasure aboute

the siege, he was driuen to so narrow shift, that to furnish him selfe of money, hee became a Pirate, and roued on the sea, where he toke. 170. shippes: the spoyle whereof he parted emong his souldiours. And least his whole army should bee deteined aboute the siege of that one citye, he sorted out the most chosen bandes of all his souldiours, & went into *Chersonessus*, where he tooke and put to sacke many notable townes. Because hys sonne Alexander was then about. 18. yeres olde, and had shewed euident proofe of hys vertue and manhode in all hys attemptes: his father sent for him thither, to the entent he might in his warres learne and exercyse all feates belonging to a souldiour, & wyth hym made a voyage into *Scithia* vpō none other quarell, but to spoyle the countreye. Thus vsyng the practyse of marchauntes, with the gaine of one warre, hee bare out ỹ charges of an other. After he had brought the countrey in subiection, because no riches of golde nor siluer was to be gotten there, he brought from thence. rr. M. of men, women, and children, besides a great multytude of cattayle, wyth. rr. thousande choyse mares to make a race in Macedon. In his retorne he was encountred wō the Tribals, whiche

whiche denied hym passage, excepte theye might haue part of hys booty. Whereupon debatyng of the matter, from wordes theye fell to fyghtyng, wherat king Phillip was so wounded in his thighe, that the violence of the stroke ranne through the body of his horse, whereof all men iudgyng him to bee slaine, the booty was therby lost. Assone as he was recouered of this hurt, his long dissebled grudge against the Athenians brast out so farre forth, that he made open warre vpon them. By reason wherof the Thebãs seing the fyer so neare at hande, gaue succour to their neighbours, fearing lest if the Athenians were ouercome the ende of the warres should tourne vpon them. Wherefore the cities that a little before were mortall enemies one to an other, confedered together in one league, and sent their Embassadours throughe all *Greece*, perswading it to be most mete w̃ a common ayde, to withstand a common enemy. Some consideryng the perill to be vniuersal, stack to the Athenians. And some fearing Phillips power encreasyng, and the others decaying, tooke parte with hym. In this warre Alexander had the charge of one of the battayles committed to hym, wherin his noble hearte and

courage did wel appeare, specially whā yt came to the stroke of the fight, for there he acquyted himselfe so valiantly, ỹ he seemed not inferiour to his father, nor to any man els, but by most iust desert, gott the honour of the victorie. Yet he was defrauded thereof by ỹ enuye & sleight of his father, as hee himselfe cōplained afterwardes. This battail was fought at Cherony, wherī though the Athenians were ỹ greater numbre, yet were they ouercome by ỹ Macedōs being ỹ fewer, but yet expert Souldiers by reaſō of theire long & cōtinual practise in warres: neuertheleſſe ỹ Athenās as mē not vnmindful of their former honour, spent their liues valiātly. That day made an ende of all the Greekes glory, aswell of their large rule & gouernmēt, as of their most aūcient freedō & libertie, which being hardly wonne, and long time kept, was thus losse in a momēt. For these & many other experiments of the valour & prowes in younge Alexandre, although ỹ king his father did alwaies beare him singuler affection & fauour: yet neuertheleſſe by certain occasiōs ensuing, it was vnhappely brokē. For Philip being maried to Olimpias, mother of Alexādre (as is said before) toke to wyfe besides her, one Cleopatra,

patra, wherupon fell great discord and vnkyndenes betwene the father and the sone The occasion was geeuen by one Attalus, vncle of Cleopatra, who beinge at the new maryage, exhorted the multitude to make prayers to the Goddes to sende betweene the kynge and the newe Queene a lawfull heyre to succede in the kingdome of Macedon. Whereat Alexandre beinge moued: Thou naughtye villaine (q he) doest thou counte me a bastard? And wyth that word flange the cup at hys head. The kynge hearinge thys, rose vp, and wyth hys swoorde drawen ranne at hys sonne, who by swaruynge wyth hys body, auoyded the stroke. so that it dyd no harme. Hereuppon Alexandre wyth manye stoute and dyspytefull woordes departed from his father, & went with his mother into Epirus. Neuertheles sone after, by the meane of one Demoratus a Corinthian, who perswaded the kynge ỹ this discorde was nothinge for his honour, Alexandre was sent for againe, & much labour & great meanes was made, beefore ỹ coulde be wel recõciled. Wherfore to cõfirm this attonemẽt, there was a mariage made betwene Alexandre the brother of *Olimpiades* (whom Philip by ỹ erpulsion of Arisba

had made king of Epirus) & Cleopatra the new Quenes daughter. The tryumphe of that day was notable according to the state and magnificence of such two Princes, the one bestowing his doughter, and the other maryng a wife. There were set forth sundry notable playes, and deuises pleasant to beholde. And as king Philip (betwene the two Alexanders, the one his natural sonne, & the other his sonne in lawe) was passing through the preasse without any guard: one Pausanias a yong man of the nobilitie of Macedon, when no man suspected any such thing, sodeinly slewe hym starke dead, making that day which was appointed to Joy and triumphe, lamentable and dolorous by the death of suche a Prynce. Thys Pausanias being a boy, was enforced by Attalus to the vnnatural vse of his body, which not content to do so hymselfe, at an other open banket, caused diuers of his familiars to abuse him likewise. Which shame and vylany greeued the yong man so sore that hee complayned to the kyng, whom although the dishonestie of the matter moued much, yet for the loue he bare to Attalus, and for the respect of his seruice, forbare to vse anye reformacion in the matter. Thys Attalus

was

was very neare vnto the kyng, and in speciall fauour, by reason he was kynsman vnto the Quene Cleopatra whom Philip had last maried: Hee was also elected generall capitaine of the kinges armye, prepared to passe into *Asia*, as one that was both valyant of his person, and no lesse politike in the feates of war. Upon these respects the king endeuoured by al the meanes he coulde, to pacify Pausanias (being kindled with most iust cause of griefe) aswell by geeuing hym great giftes & promocions, as placyng hym honourably emongest those gētlemen that were for the guarde of his parsone. But all thys coulde not appease the iust rage of hys yre, whiche wrought so in him, that hee determined to bee reuenged, not onely vppon Attalus that did the villany, but also vpon the kyng that woulde not minyster iustice. Which determinacion hee put in effecte, as is sayde before. Many thinges might be sayd more of the doigs & sayings of this Philip, but one thing aboue others is to be noted, ỹ although for the more part he was occupyed in the turmoyle of the warres, and other like busines: yet had he euer such affectyon to ỹ studies of humanitie & good learning, that he both dyd, and spake manye thynges

worthye

worthy memory, which were both wittye pleasaunt. He liued seuen & forty yeres, and reigned. xxv. being the third king of ỹ Macedons, as they reygned in order.

¶ The seconde booke of Quintus Curtius supplyed, of the actes of Alexander the great, kyng of Macedon.

When Philip was dead: his sonne, which for the greatnes of his actes was afterwardes called the greate Alexander, toke vpon him the kingdom the. 426. yere after the buildyng of Roome, being of the age of 20. yeres. His state stode at that time subiect to muche enuye, hatred and hasarde from all partes. For the nacions and prouinces bordering vpon him, coulde not well beare their present bondage, and euery one of them sought how to recouer again their auncient dominion and enheritaunce. The first thing he attempted after he was king, was the greuous execution vpon so many as hadde conspired his fathers death, which done, he celebrated his funeralles wt great

pompe.

pompe. Concerning his estate he sone esta-
blished it, and that muche better then anye
man coulde haue imagined, in one of so yōg
and tender yeares. For beeyng of some had
in contempt and of some suspected to be cru-
ell: towardes the one hee bare himselfe so
stoutly, that he toke from them al cōtempt:
and to the other so gentilly, that their ima-
gined feare of his cruel dispositiō was clean
taken awaye. He graunted vnto the Mace-
dons fredome, and priuilege, from all exac-
tions and bondage, sauing from the seruice
of warre: by whiche acte he gat so great fa-
uour and loue amongst the people, that all
affirmed by one consent, how the person of
their kyng was chaunged and not his ver-
tue, his name was altered, but not his good
gouernmēt. In the beginning of his reign,
rebellion was made agaynste hym on all
sides, but hee by and by wyth an incredyble
stoutnes and constancye of mynde, stayed
all their tumultes. That matter pacyfyed
and set in ordre, he went to *Corynthe* in *Pe-
loponese*, wher callinga general Coūcel of al
the states of Greece, was elected their gene
ral Capitain agaiſt ỳ Persiās, which before
time had afflicted Greece wᵗ many plagues,

and

& at that present possessed the greatest Em-
pire in the world. Hys father had purposed
ỹ warre before,but the preuention of death
was the cause hee brought not hys purpose
to passe. Whiles he was in preparacion of
this enterprise,he was enfourmed how the
Athenians,the Thebans, and Lacedemo-
nians, were reuolted from him, and confe-
derate with the Persians, & all by meanes
of an Orator called Demosthenes, which
was corrupted by them wyth a great sõme
of money. For the reformacion whereof, A-
lexander so sodeinly had prepared an army
that when he came vpon them, they coulde
scarcely beleue he should be presẽt,of whose
comming they had not heard before. In his
way hee practised with the Thessalians, &
vsed to them suche gentle wordes and apte
perswasions, by puttyng them in remem-
braunce of his fathers benefites, and of the
auncient kindred betwene them by their dis
cent from Hercules:that hee brought them
to the poynt, by an vniuersall decree of the
whole countrey,to be created theire gouer-
nour. So great was the celeritie that thys
yong man vsed, & his diligence so effectuall
in all his doings,that he made al such feare
him,as before were reuolted,and regarded
him

him little. As the Athenians were the first that failed, so they first of al repented, extolling wyth prayses Alexanders childehode, (which before they had despysed) aboue the vertue of the auncient conquerours. They also sent Embassadours to require of hym peace, whom hee sore rebuked when theye came to his presence, but yet was content at length to remit their offence. And although Demosthenes was chosen one of the Embassadours, yet he came not in his sight, but in hys waye retourned agayne to Athens. Which his doing, was eyther for feare that he had so often rayled agaynst Philip, and sturred the Athenians agaynst hym: or els to take away the suspicion of him selfe from the kyng of *Persie*, of whom (it was saide) he had receyued a great somme of gold to stād againste the Macedons. The same thyng was layed agaynst him by Aeschines in an Oration, wher he sayeth: presently the kinges golde doth beare his charges, but that can not lasse hym long, seing no riches can suffice his prodigall lyuing. When Alexander had pacyfied those sturres that were begunne in *Greece*, before hee woulde passe his army into *Asia*, he made a iourney againste the *Peones*, ỹ *Triballes*, & *Thillirians*, because

he

he vnderstode theye were conspiring toge-
thers. And for that they bordered vpon his
countrey, and were wont to inuade ỹ same
vpon euery occasion, thought to set stay a-
mongst them, before he woulde remoue his
power so farre of from the Citie of *Amphi-
polis*, therefore he set forwardes agaynst the
Tracians, which at that time were not vn
der the rule or lawe of any man. In tenne
dayes he came to the mount Hemus: in the
toppe wherof he found them encamped, w̄
a power to resist hys passage. In steade of
trenches, theye hadde empaled themselues
with theire cartages crosse the streyghtes,
purposing there to withstand him. And yᵗ
they shoulde bee inuaded by any other way
then by the streyghtes, they dyd determine
to roule their cartages downe the hyl vpon
the Macedons, to breake their araye. That
deuise was put in execution, but the souldy-
ours had receyued before instructions by A-
lexander, as occasion should serue, eyther to
open theire array to let the cartes and whe-
les passe throughe them, or els to falle flat
vpon the ground, and by couering their bo-
dies with their targettes, auoide the daun-
ger. They vsed the matter accordig to their
instructions, & when the carts were passed

by

by, theye wᵗ a courage & crye mounted vp a-gainst their enemies, & in a momēt put thē to flight. When Alexander was passed the mountaine, he entred into the countreye of the Trybals as far as the riuer of Ligeus. When Syrmus king of ỹ Iland vnderstode of his cōming, he sent his wife & his childʒ wᵗ such of his people, as were not mete for the warres, into an Iland called Peuca, situate wᵗin the riuer of Danuby, into which Iland, the Thracians bordering with the Trybals were fled also. It was not long after that Syrmus himselfe fled thither lykewise: the rest of the Tribals that were not wᵗ the king withdrawyng into an other Iland, wher they kept themselues agaynste Alexander. But he by pollicy foūd the meanes to draw thē out of their strength, wher by he slew of them the nūbre of three thousand, & the rest fled awaye, so that of pryso-ners there were fewe taken. After this battaile hee marched towardes the Ryuer of Danubye, to the Iland where the Tracians and the other Triballes were fled. Theye made notable resistaunce agaynste hym, whyche theye myghte the better doe, by reason that Alexander wanted boates to passe into the Iland, the bankes whereof

were

were so high and steepe, that they could not be mounted vpō, but with great difficulty, the riuer besides running so swift by reason that the streame was there driuen into a straighte. When Alexander perceyued the impossibilitie to assaile them, he withdrewe to an other place, wher gettyng a few boates passed the Riuer in the night, to the nūber of. 1500. horsemen, and. 4000. footemen. With that companye hee set vpon a people called Getes, that stode ready in battail on the further side with. 4000. horsemen and. M. fotemen, of purpose to stoppe the Macedons passage. But by their sodaine cōming ouer, the Getes were so afrayde, that they did not abide the first onset. It semed to thē a matter of wonderful aduenture, for Alexander in one night without a bridge to passe hys power ouer the broadest & deapest ryuer of al Europe. This matter strake such feare in them, ỹ they flēdde into the woodes & desert places, leauing their citye desolate, which was taken by Alexander and ouerthrowen. Sirmus king of the Triballes, with the Germaynes, and thother inhabitoures vpon Danuby, sent Embassadours thither vnto Alexander, to enter with him in frendship and amitie. And hee condescendyng to

their

their requestes, enquired of the Germaines what thing it was in the worlde they doubted most: thinking in deede that the terrour of his name had bene the moste fearfullest thing vnto them. But when they vnderstode his meaning, they aunswered: that they doubted greatly the falling of the sky. With whose presumptuous answer Alexander was nothing moued, nor further replyed, sauyng only that he sayde: the Germaynes were a proude people, and therupon dismissed them. As he was goyng frō thence against the Agrians and the Peans he was aduertised that Clitus Bardeleius had rebelled, & was cōfederate with Glaucias the kyng of the Thaulantes, he had also intelligence, that the people of *Anteria* woulde geue him battaile in his passage. Wherfore he committed to Lagarus king of the Agrians (which was welbeloued of kyng Philip and no lesse in his fauour) the charge to go against the Anterians, and promysed him vpō his returne to geue hym his sister Cyna in mariage. And Alexander him selfe with great celeritie, went against Clytus and Glaucias, whome in sondry battayles he ouercame and put to flyght. Whyles Alexāder was about these things

he receiued aduertiſement, that diuers Cities in Greece, & ſpecialy the Thebans, had rebelled, which thing moued him muche, & was the cauſe that he retourned with ſpede to oppreſſe that commocion. The Thebans in the meane ſeaſon beſieged the Caſtle of Thebes, wherin was a guariſon of Macedones, and went about by all meanes to winne it. Alexander came by great iorneyes to their reſcue, and encamped wyth his hoſte neare to ỹ citie. Such as bare rule emonges the Thebanes, when they ſawe him come, contrary to that they looked for, & doubting whether ſuch ayde ſhould come to them from other cities as was promiſed, began to conſult how to procede. At length by a generall conſent, they determined to abyde the aduenture and extremitie of the warre. The kyng in ỹ meane ſeaſon ſtode at a ſtaye, geuing them ſpace to bee better aduiſed & change their purpoſe, for he was of opinion, that no one Citie woulde euer haue made reſiſtaunce againſt ſo greate a powre as he had, being aboue xxx. thouſand footemen, and three thouſand horſmen, all olde ſouldiours, and experte in the trauails of warre. The truſt of their manhode and valyauntnes, had cauſed him to vndertake

the

the warres against the Persians. Truely if the Thebanes had geuen place to Fortune, and to the tyme, and woulde haue required peace they myght easely haue obtained it: his desyre was so great to passe into *Asia* against the Persians. But the Thebans that were determined to trye theire force, and not to make any sute, fought agaynst the Macedons, farre exceedyng them in nomber, obstinatly, & wyth great manhode: But whyles the battailes were ioyning, the guarison of the Castle issued out vppon the Thebanes backes, whereby being enclosed, they were vanquished, theira citie taken, spoyled, & vtterly rased. Whiche extremitie Alexander vsed of purpose, because he thought the reste of the Grecians, afrayd by their example, woulde be ỹ more quiet, while he shoulde be in the warres of *Asia*. To gratifye the Phocians and Plateans hys confederats, which brought manye accusacionse against the Thebans, he slewe of them vi. thousande, and solde thirtye thousande as Slaues: the money therof commyng, amounteth to the summe of foure hundred and foretye Talentes. Yet he spared all the lynage of Pindarus the Poete, whereby he would witnes vnto the

woꝛlde, the fauour he did beare vnto learned men. In this Citie of *Thebes* was a notable woman called *Timoclea*, whome whē a Capitayne of Thꝛace dyd rauyſhe, and woulde haue enforced her to confeſſe her money: She brought him to a well, where (ſhe ſayde) all her pꝛecious geare was hidden. And whiles he ſtouped doꝛwn to looke into the well, ſhe thꝛuſt him in, and thꝛew ſtones after, whereby he was ſlayne. Foꝛ this fact ſhe being committed to pꝛiſon, & afterwardes bꝛought befoꝛe Alexander: he aſked her what ſhe was, ſhe anſwered wout feare, that ſhe was ſiſter to Theogenes, which being elected generall Capitayn againſt kyng Philip his father, manfully died foꝛ the libertie of Gꝛece. At whoſe ſtoutnes and conſtancy, the kyng marueyled ſo much, that he cauſed her wyth her childꝛen to be ſet at libertie. The Athenians had ſo great pitie and compaſſion of the eſtate of the Thebanes, that contrary to the cōmaūdemēt of Alexander, they receiued into their Citie ſuch of them as eſcaped: which thing Alexander tooke in ſuche diſpleaſure, that when they ſent Embaſſadours the ſeconde time to demaūd peace, he would not graūt attonement vpon any other condicion, but

that

that suche Orators & Captaines whyche had sturred them to rebellion, should be delyuered vnto his hands. But at length the matter was brought to that poynt that the Orators were reserued, & the Captaines banished, whiche straight fled to Darius kyng of *Perse*. At such time as Alexander assembled the Grecians in *Isthmos* for the determinacion of his iourney into *Perse*, many Orators & Philosophers came to visite him, onely Diogenes that remayned about Corinth, kept him selfe away, as one that esteemed Alexander nothing at all, wherat he marueyled much, & went to visite hym, where he was beaking of him selfe in the Sunne. He asked Diogenes if he had nede of any thing he might do. To whom Diogenes neither gaue reuerence nor thankes, but willed him to stande out of his Sunne shine. In whose behauour & wordes, Alexander toke so great delight, that turning to those that were with him, saide: if he were not Alexãder, he would wish to be Diogenes. When he had put in order thaffaires of Greece, committing the rule thereof together with the realme of Macedon, to the gouernement of Antipater, whome he moste trusted, in the beginning of the spring came

to Helleſpont with his whole army, whiche he tranſported into *Aſia*, with incredible ſpede & diligence. When they were come to the further ſhore, Alexander threwe a darte to the enemies land, & as he was armed, leaped out of the ſhipps wᵗ great gladnes, & there ſacrificed, making peticion vnto the Gods, that they woulde vouchſafe to admitt him king of that lande. Frō thence he marched towardes his enemies, & forbad his ſouldiers to make any ſpoile vpon the countrey, pſwading them to ſpare that was their owne, & that they ſhould not deſtroy the thing, which they came to poſſeſſe. He had not in his army aboue the number of xxxij. M. fotemen, & v. M. horſemen, and & but cxxx. ſhippes: wherefore it is harde to iudge whether it be more wonderfull that he conquered the world, or that he durſt attempt the conqueſt thereof with ſo ſmall a power. He chose not out to ſuche a daungerous enterprize, the yong men which were in the firſt flower of their age, but the olde ſouldiours, of whō the more parte for their long continuance in warres, were by the cuſtom at libertie & free frō the warres, ſaving at their own pleaſure. And there was no capitaine nor any other that bare office

in

in his Army, vnder the age of lx yeres. So that the souldiours for their experience, seemed to be scolemasters of the warres, & the capitaines for their grauitie apeared to bee Senatours in some auncient cõmon welth. That was the cause that in the fyght none of them mynded any flying, but euery one conceyued the victory in his heade, nor any put trust in his feete, but in his handes. Alexander that euery where made sacrifice, did vse most solempnitie at Troy vpon Achilles tombe, of whome he was descended by his mothers syde. He iudged hym moste happy of all menne before hym, because in suche glorye he dyed young, and hadde his actes sett forth of suche one as *Homer* was. From thence he passed forwardes into the dominions of Darius kyng of *Perse*, whyche being the sonne of Arsanus, and the fourteene kyng after Cyrus, hadde gotten the possession of the Monarchie of the whole Easte parte of the worlde. The chiefest cause that moued Alexander to inuade him, was to be reuẽged of ẏ domages & destructions, wherwith his predecessours had afflicted the countrey of Greece, & also for demaundynge tribute of

C.iiij. Philip

Philip his father, for the whiche he sent a proude and presumptuouse embassade calling him selfe the king of kynges, & kinsman of the Gods. Lastly he had written to Alexander, and called him his seruaunt, & gaue commission to his Lieutenants, that they should beate that madd boy the sonne of Philip with roddes, & afterwards bring him to his presence in kings apparell. And furthermore that they should drowne both shippe and mariners, and conueye all the souldiers that should be left on liue, beyond the redde seas. They therfore purposing to execute the kynges commaundement, assembled their power at the Ryuer of *Granike*, which doth deuide the countrey of *Troy* frō *Propontides*, hauing to the nomber of xx. M. footemen, and as many horsemen, wyth whome they had taken the grounde on the further syde of the ryuer, where Alexander must needes passe ouer. Wherof when he was aduertised, though he saw present perill in the enterprise to fyght in the water, and the ouse, frō the lower ground, against his enemies, which had the aduauntage of the higher banke, yet vpon a singuler trust of his own good fortune, & the valiantnes of his souldiours, attempted the matter. At

the

the fyrst he was sore encountred, and put in great hasarde of repulse, but at length he banquished and ouerthrew his enemies. In doyng whereof, there neither wanted polycy in him selfe, nor yet singuler manhode in his men. There was slayne in that battayle of the Persians. rr. M. footemen, with ccl. horsemen, and of the Macedones but rrriij. This victory was greatly effectuall to Alexanders purpose, for thereby he wanne the Citie of *Sardes*, being the chiefe strength the Persians had for the masteryng of the seas, vnto the which citie and to all the rest of the countrey of *Lidia*, he gaue libertie to liue vnder their owne lawes. He gote also into his possession the Citie of *Ephesos*, by reason that the fourth day after ỹ battayle, it was abandoned of the guarisõ which Darius set there. In the meane season there came Embassadours frõ *Magnesia* and from the *Trallians* profering the deliuery of their Cities. Parmenio was sent to them wyth iij. M. footemen, and CC. horsemẽ, with which power he wanne *Miletum* that stode at defence, and marching from thence towarde *Helicarnassus* gote all the townes theraboutes at the fyrst approche, and afterwardes besieged *Helicarnassus* it

selfe,

ſelf, whiche with great trauaile he wan a
length and raſed it to the ground. As Ale
ander entred into *Caria*, Ada the Queene o
that countrey which had bene ſpoyled of a
her dominion by Mzontobates, Darius
lieutenant (ſauing of one ſtrong Citie cal
led *Alinda*) mette with Alexander, & adop
ted him for her ſonne and heire: He would
not refuſe the name and the p̃offer of her li
beralitie, but did betake to her agayne th
cuſtody of her owne citie. And beſydes fo
the memozy of her beneuolence putte th
whole countrey of *Caria* vnder her rule
ſubiection. From thence he went into *Lici*
and *Pamphilia*, to the entent that by get
ting the poſſeſſion of the ſea coaſts of thoſe
countreys, he might cauſe the ſea power o
Darius to ſtand to none effecte. When he
had once ſubdued the people of *Piſidia*, he
entred into *Phrigia*, by the whiche countrey
he was enkozced to paſſe, and marched to
wardes Darius, with whome he had great
deſire to encounter, hearing ſaye that
he was commyng agaynſt him
with many thouſandes
of menne of
warre.

(:)

The thyrde booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, king of Macedon.

(∴)

ALexander in the meane seaſõ hauynge ſent Cleander to wage menne of warre out of *Peloponeſe*, and eſtablyſhed the countreys of *Licia* and *Phamphilia*, remoued his Armye to the Citie of *Celenas*. Throughe this Citie there ran at the ſame tyme the Ryuer of *Martia*, verye famous in the Greeke poeſies: whoſe head ſpringing out of the top of an high Mountayne, and fallyng downe vppon a Rocke beneth, made muche noyſe and rorying. It ſlowеth from thence, and watreth the fieldes all about, without encreaſe of anye ſtream ſauyng his owne. The colour whereof being like vnto the calme ſea, gaue occaſyon to the Poets to fayne, how the Nymphes for the delyght they toke in that riuer, choſe their dwellyng vnder that rocke. So long as it runneth wythin compas of the walles it keapeth hys owne name, but whē it cōmeth wōt where the ſtreame is more ſwift and vehemēt, it is then called *Lycum*.

Alexander

Alexandre did enter into this towne, being forsaken of the inhabitants, and perceiuing they were fled into ỹ castle which he determined to wyn before he departed, firste sent to sommon them by an Heraulde, whiche declared that excepte they would yeld themselues, they should suffre the extremite of ỹ law of Armes. They brought the Heraulde into an high towre which was strong both by nature and workmanship, willing him to consider the thinge, and to declare vnto Alexandre that he wayed not sufficiently ỹ strẽgth of ỹ place, for they saide they knew it to be impzenable, & if the worst shoulde fal, yet were they ready to dy in there truth and allegiance. Notwithstandinge whiche words, when yt came to the point that they saw them selues besieged, and all thinges ware scarce, they toke truce for .xv. dayes, with this cõposicion, that if they were not rescued by Darius wythin that tyme, they would render it vp into his hands. Which they did afterwardes at the day appointed, when they saw no succours commynge. To that place there came Embassadors to hym from Athens, making request that suche other citie as were taken prisoners at ỹ battayle, fought vppon the ryuer of Granike,

myght

myght be restored to them. To whom answer was made, ỹ when ỹ warres of *Perse* were once brought to an ende, both theirs & all other that were Greekes should be restored to their libertie. Alexãdre had his present care & imagination alwaies vpon Darius, whom he knewe not yet to bee passed the riuer of *Euphrates*. He assembled therfore al his power togethers, purposinge to aduẽture ỹ hasard of ỹ battaile. The countrey was called *Phrigia* ỹ he passed through plentifull of villages, but scarce of Cities, yet ther was one of great antiquitie called *Gordium*, the royall seate somtime of kynge Mydas. The riuer *Sangarius* dothe runne through it, & it stãdeth in midway betwene ỹ seas of *Ponte* & *Cilicia*: being iudged to be ỹ narowest parte of *Asia*, by reason of the seas which lye one both sides, representing the fourme of an Iland. And if it were not for a smal point of lande ỹ doth lye betwixt those seas, they should ioyn both togethers. Alexãdre hauig brought this city vnder his obeisãs, ẽtred into ỹ tẽple of Iupiter, where he saw ỹ wagon wherein Midas ỹ builder of ỹ city was wont to ride. The same in the furniture & outwarde apperaunce differed lyttle from other common waggons, but

there

there was in it a thing notable, which w
a rope folded and knitt with many knot
one so wrethed within another, that no m
coulde perceiue the manner of it, neyth
where the knottes began, nor where th
ended. Here vppon the countrey men had
prophesy, that he should be lord of all. As
that could vndo ỹ endles knott. That wa
a matter which put the kyng in a marue
lous desyre to become the fulfiller of ỹ pr
phesie. There stode a great number abo
him both of Phrigians & Macedons, ỹ o
parte of them musinge to what conclusio
this matter would come to, & the other fe
ring the rashe presumpcion of their kin
for asmuch as they could perceiue by no re
son how the knotte should be vndone. Th
king himselfe also doubting that ỹ kayli
of his purpose in that matter, might be ta
ken as a token of his euill fortune to come
After he had considered the thing: What ha
matter maketh it (q he) which way it be vn
done? & stryued no lenger how to vnknit it,
but out of hande cutt with his sworde th
rodes a sunder: thereby either illuding, o
els fulfilling theffect of the prophesie. Wh
this was done, Alexander purposed to fynd
out Darius whersoeuer he were, & to the

intent

intent he would leaue all things cleare be-
yond his back, made Amphitozus captayne
of his nauy vpon the coaste of Hellespont,
cõmitting the charge of the men of war to
Egilocus. They two had cõmission to deli-
uer the Ilandes of *Lesbos*, *Scio*, & *Cos*, from
the hands of the Persians. And for the fur-
niture of their charges, apointed to them. l.
talentes. And sent to Antipater & suche o-
ther as had the gouernance of the Cities of
Greece, lx. talentes. He gaue order ỹ suche
as were his confederates, shoulde wt theire
owne power of ships defend ỹ Seas of He-
lespõt according to the league betwixt thẽ.
It was not yet come to his knowlege how
Memnon was dead, vpon whom he set his
whole regarde, knowing if that he moued
not against him, no manne shoulde be hys
foppe before he came to Darius. Alerãder
came to the citie of *Ancire* where he made
his musters, & so entred into *Paphlagonia*,
wherunto the Grecians bee borderers, of
whom it is saied, the Venecians be descen-
ded. Al this countrey yelded vnto him, and
gaue him pledges, obteining to be free of
tribute, seyng they neuer paide anye to the
Persians. Calas was capitayn there, who
taking wt him the band of souldiers ỹ were

lately

lately come out of Macedon went vnto Cappadocia. But Darius hearing of the death of Memnon, was no lesse moued therwith then the case requyred, for then all other hope set apart, he determined to try ỹ matter in parson. For he condẽpned all thinges that had ben done by his deputies, hauing oppinion that good gouernement wanted in many of them, and that fortune had fayled in them all. He came therefore to Babilon, where he encamped, assembling all force togethers in sight, because he woulde shew the greater courage. And vsyng the ensaumple of Xerxes, in taking of his musters, entrenched so much ground about, as was able to receyue.r.thousande men, wtin the whiche he lodged in the nyght suche as had ben mustred in the day, and from thẽce they were bestowed abroade in the playne countrey of *Mesopotania*. The number of his horsmen & footemen were innumerable, and yet seemed to the syght to be more then they were. There were of the Persiãs an C. thousande, of whome rrr. thousande were horsemen. Of the Medians r. thousand horsmen, and rrr. thousand fotemen. Of the Barcanites two thousand horsmen with brode swordes & light bucklers, and r.

M. footemen with like weapons. There were of the Armenians xl. M. fotemen, & vij. M. horsemen. The Hircanians of great estimacion emongest those nacions had. vi. thousand horsemen. The Derbitens were xl. thousande footemen armed with pykes, whereof parte had no heades of Iron, but dryed the pointes of them in the fier. There were also of the same nacion ij. M. horsmē. There came from the Caspian sea. viij. M. fotemen & cc. horsemen, & with them of the rude nacions of *Asia* ij. M. fotemen, & iiij. M horsmen. To the increase of these numbers ther were xxx. M. mercenary souldiers that were Greekes. Darie woulde not suffer to call for the Bactrians, Sogdians & Indians, with other the inhabiters of ẏ red sea: nacions which had names scarcely knowē to their own king. Thus Darius wanting nothing lesse then the multitude of men, greatly reioyced to beholde thē. And puffed vp with the vanitie, & flattery of the greate mē which were about him, turned to Charidemus of Athens an expert man of warr (whiche for the displeasure that Alexander did beare him, was banished the countrey) & asked him if he thought not that cōpanye sufficient to ouerthrowe the Macedones.

Whereunto Charidemus without respect of the kinges payde, or of hys owne estate, answered: peraduenture sir (q he) ye will not be content to heare the trueth, except I tell it presētly, it shalbe to late hereafter. This great preparacion and huge army of yours, gathered of the multitude of so many nacions, rayled vp from all partes of ỹ Orient, is more fearfull to thinhabiters hereabouts, then terrible to your enemyes. Your men shine in colours & glister in armour of gold: exceding so much in riches, that they which haue not sene them w̄ their eyes, cannot conceiue anye suche thinge in their mindes. But contrarywise the Macedons being rough souldiers, without anys such excesse be terrible to behold. The frōts of their battailes stand close togethers alwayes in strength, furnished with pikes & targets for defence. That whiche they call their Phalanx, is an immouable square of footemen, wherin euery one stande close to other, ioyning weapon to weapon. Euerye souldier is obediēt to that which is cōmaūded him, redy at his captains beck, whether it be to folow his ensigne, to kepe his aray to stand still, to runne, to fetch a cōpasse, to change thorder of ỹ battail, to fight on this

side

side or that side: euery souldier can do these thinges so well as the capitaines. And because you shal not think golde & siluer to be so effectuall to this matter, they began & obserued this discipline, pouertie being maisters. When they bee wery the grounde is their bed, they are satisfyed wt such meat as they fynde by chaunce, & they measure not their sleape by the length of the night. Think you the horsemen of Thessaly, the Acharnans & Etolians which be inuincible men of warre, wil be repulsed with slinges or staues hardened in the fyre. It behoueth you to haue a lyke force to repulse them, & to be serued of the same kynde of men. My counsell is therfore ỳ you sende this golde & siluer to wage souldiers out of those countreys frõ whence they come. Darius was a man of a meeke & tractable disposition, if ỳ height of his estate had not altered ỳ goodnesse of his nature: which made him so vnpacient to heare the truth, that he cõmaunded Charidemus to be put streight wais to deth: being a man ỳ was fled to his protectiõ, & that gaue him right profitable coũsel. When he was going towardes his death, he left not his libertie to speake, but saied: there is one at hãd ỳ shall reuẽge my death:

For he against whom I haue geuen ỹ coũ-
sayl, shall punishe thee for not folowing of
myne aduise. And thou being thus altered
with the liberties thou hast being a kynge,
shalt be an ensample to suche as shall come
after, ỹ when men cõmitt theire doinges to
Fortune, they clerely forget themselues.
Whiles Charidemus was speaking these
wordes, they which had the charge cõmit-
ted vnto them, put him to death, wherof af-
terwards the king toke ouerlate repẽtaũce,
confessing him to haue spoken the truthe, &
caused him to bee buried. There was one
Thymones the sonne of Mentor a young
man of greate actiuitie, to whome Darius
gaue the charge of al ỹ souldiers strangers
(in whõ he had great confidence) wylling
him to receiue them at Pharnabasus hãds,
& gaue to Pharnabasus the rewle ỹ Mem-
non had before. Thus Darius being care-
full of the busines he had in hand, whether
it were through pẽsiuenes of mynd, or that
his fansy did diuine thinges to come, was
continually troubled w̃ visions in his slepe.
He dreamed that the Macedons camp was
all on fyre. And shortlye after it seemed to
him that Alexander was brought to his pre-
sence in such kind of apparell as he himself

did

did weare when he was firſt choſen kyng, & that Alexander ſhould be caried on horſe-backe through Babilon, & ſo vaniſhe out of ſight. Herupon thinterpretours of dreames with the diuerſitie of their diuinyng, dyd driue Darius into dyuers ymaginacions. Some ſayde hys dreame betokened good fortune to himſelfe, becauſe of the fyre that ſeemed to be in his enemies campe, and for that Alexander without anye veſture of a kyng, appeared in the vulgare apparayl of the Perſians. Other did enterprete it other wyſe: that the lyghtening in the Macedons campe, ſignified glory & victory to Alexander, & alſo thēioymēt of the empyre of *Aſia* whiche they made a cleare matter, for as muche as Alexander appeared in the ſame veſtures that Darius ware when he was choſen king. Care beſydes and trouble of mynd (as it often chaūceth) brought things paſt againe to remembraunce. It was reherſed howe Darius in ẏ beginning of his reigne chaunged the ſcabarde of his ſworde from the Perſian maner, into the faſhion that the Greekes vſed. Wherupon ẏ Caldeis did pronoſticate that the kyngdome of Perſie ſhould be tranſlated to thoſe, whoſe faſhion he had counterfaited. Notwithſtan-

ding through the confidence of such prophe-
sies as were commonly sowen abroad, & of
the vision that he seemed to haue sene in his
sleape, became very mery, & commaunded
his armye to marche forwardes to the Ry-
uer of *Euphrates*. It was the auncient cus-
tome emongest the Persians, at the Sunne
rysing to rayse their Campe, & warning of
their setting forwardes to be geuen by the
blast of a trumpet, souned at the kinges pa-
uilion. vpon ỹ which there stode an Image
of the sunne enclosed in Christal, shyning so
bright, that it myght be seene throughout
the campe. The order of their marching
was in this maner. The fyre whiche they
call holy & eternall, was caried before vpõ
siluer aultars, and the priestes of their lawe
went next singing after their country ma-
ner. There folowed ccc.lxb. young men in
skerlet robes, like in number vnto the daies
of the yere. Then came the Chariot conse-
crated to Jupiter drawen with white pal-
freyes, a great horse folowing whiche they
call the horse of the sunne. Suche as dyd
ryde vpon the palfreys did wear white gar
mentes, bearing roddes of golde in their
handes. Next in order came r. chariots gar-
nished and wrought with siluer and golde.

The

The horsemen of twelue nacions followed next in sundry sort of armour. Then came a company that the Persians call immortall, the ryches of whose apparell, exceeded farre the rest: they had all cheines of golde, coates embrodered with golde, & sleues sett with pearle. There followed wtin a small distance a band of xv. M. called Dorypheri, reputed for the kinges kinsmen, whiche were disguised in maner like women, more notable for their galantnes and varietie of aparell, then for the armour they did were. Such as were wont to receiue the kynges robes, did ryde next before the chariot, vpō ỹ which Darius did sit on high, with great pompe & magnificence: his chariot beyng garnyshed on both sides with carued Images of their Goddes made of siluer & gold. The Steame wherof was sett with perles & precious stones, with iij. Images of golde standing therupon of a cubite length, combattaunt one againste the other, and ouer their heades an Egle of Golde displayed. But emonges all the rest, the kynges apparayle shewed marueylous sumptuouse, whych was of purple empaled whyte, wō a border embrodered of gold, Faucōs fighting togethers. He was girte effeminately

with a gyrdle of golde, & the swoorde ỳ hong therupon, had the scabard made of a pearl. The diademe the king ware vpon his head called of the Persyans Cydarys, had a roll about it of white & greene. Nert behynde ỳ kyng came r. M. horsemen, whiche had all their speares plated w̄ siluer, & their speare heades gilted. Ye was enclosed on bothe sydes with cc. of the blood royall, at whose backes there folowed. rrr. M. fotemen, and after them cccc. of the kynges coursers.

Within the distaunce of one furlong Sisigambis the mother of Darius was caryed in a wagon, & his wife in another: the train of their women ridyng on horsbacke. Nert them went rb. wagons, wherin the kyngs childzen were caried, their Nurses & Eunuches, which are greatly esteemed in that countrey. And after them folowed ccc. lr. of the kynges concubynes all apparelled like Queenes. Then came vi.c. mules & .ccc Camelles that caryed the kinges treasure, garded with a band of Archers. The wines of the kynges kynsemen, and the other that were about the kyng, came rydyng nert, & after them a great companye of slaues and berlets. Laste came the rereward lyghtly armed, whereof euery capitayne seuerally

with

with his own company closed in the army, such was the order of Darius host. But on the other syde beholding Alexanders army, there was to be seene a greate difference. Neyther the men nor the horse glistered so with golde nor precious furnamentes, but only with the brightnesse of their harnesse. But they were obedient at their captaynes becke alwaies in a redynesse to staye or to passe forwardes, neyther combred wyth ouer great multitude, nor pestered wyth to much baggage. They wanted not in anye place either ground for their encamping, or victualles for their feeding, whereby their small nomber was alwayes sufficient whē they came to fyght: Whereas Darius the lorde of so huge a multitude, through the streightnes of the ground, wherein he was driuen to geue battaile, coulde worke but theffect of a small nomber, being the thing which he before had despysed in his enemy. Alexāder apoynted to Abistamines ye rule of *Cappadocia*, and marchyng wyth his armie towardes *Cilicia*, came to the place called Cyrus Campe, because Cyrus lodged there, when he passed into *Licia* agaynste kyng Creesus. Thys place was distant about .50. furlonges from the streyght, entering

ring into *Cilicia*. The countrey men vse to call those streyghtes *Pylae*, wher as the naturall sytuaciō of the place had made a fortificacion, as it were with mannes hands. When Arsanes gouernour of *Cilicia* vnderstoode of Alexanders comming, remembring what opinion Memnon was of in ỹ beginning of the warres, put in execucion his wise counsell when it was to late, wasting and destroying throughout *Cilicia*, all such thinges as he thought might stand his enemy in stead, leauing the countrey waste, which he thought he was not able to defend: where as it had ben much better to haue taken the streight before his enemyes, where from the hilles lyeng ouer the waye, hee myght wythout hasarde, eyther haue letted hys entrye, or els haue distressed him in his passyng. But hee leuyng a small nomber for the defence of the streyght, retyred hym selfe backe to waste the countrey, whych his parte had ben to defend from destruccion. By his departure it came to passe that such as he left behynd, thinking them selues betrayde, woulde not so muche as abyde the syght of their enemyes, when a muche lesse nomber had beene sufficient to haue kepte the passage. For the situacion of *Cilicia* is

such,

such, that it is enuironed round about with a continuall rough and steape mountayne, which rysyng from the sea on the one syde & fetching a compasse about, ioyneth again with the sea on the other syde. Throughe ỹ parte of the mountayn, which lyeth furdest from the sea, there be three narrowe and roughe passages, by one of the which they must enter, that will passe into *Cilicia*. The countrey towardes the Sea is plaine and full of Ryuers, emonges the whiche twoe bee notable, *Pyramus & Cydnus*, but *Cydnus* most speciall, not so much for hys greatnes, as for the clerenes of hys water, which from his fyrste spryng runneth pleasauntly through all the Countrey, & hath no other Ryuer runnyng into hym to dysturbe the pureneſſe of his streame. For which cause it remaineth alwayes cleare, & also colde, by reason of the woodes that doe shadowe all the bankes. Tyme hath consumed many antiquities within that countrey, whiche be remembred of the Poets. There may yet be sene the foundations of Cities of *Lirneſſus*, and *Cebeſtus*, wyth the caue and wood of *Coricius* where Saffron groweth, wyth many other thynges whereof nothing remayneth sauing only ỹ fame.

When

When Alexandre entred the streightes before mencioned, and beheld the situacion of thē, he neuer in all his lyfe maruailed more at his owne felicitie and good fortune: confessynge that yt had not beene possible for him to haue passed, if any had stande at defence against him: for that with stones only he might haue bene distressed, the streighte besides being so narrowe, that there coulde not passe aboue fower in a front. To thencrease of which difficultie, the toppes of the mountaines honge ouer the wayes, whych in many places were broken and made holowe, with the streames that rānne downe frō the hills. Alexandre sent the Thracians that were lyghte armed, to store and discouer the wayes, for feare the enemies should lye there in bushement, and sodenly breake forth vpon him. He appointed also a bande of Archers to take the toppe of ẏ hil, whiche were willed so to march, that they might be alwayes in a redines to fyghte. After thys maner he came wyth hys armye to the Cytie of *Tarson*, whyche was sette on fyre by the Persians, because that Alexādre should fynde no herborowe there. But Parmenio was sent thether wyth a choyse numbre of horsemen to quenche the fyer. Who vnder-

standing

standynge that the enemyes were fledde away throughe hys commynge, entred into the Cytie and by that meanes saued it frō burnynge. The Ryuer of Cydnus spoken of before, dyd runne throughe thys Cytie where the kynge arryued about myddaye, yt beynge in the sommer season, what time the heate ys no where more feruent then in that countrey. He tooke suche delyghte in the pleasantnes of the water, that he would neades bath hys bodye, to washe away the swette and dust he had caughte. And beyng in a heate entered naked into the water in euerye mans syght, thinkinge it should be a contentacion to hys souldyers, to se that the fornaments about hys bodye were none other but suche as they commonlye vsed to weare. He was not so soone entred, but all the partes of his bodye began to shake and trymble, his face waxed pale, and the luely heate was mortified in all partes of his body. His seruauntes toke him vp and caryed him into his tent, as one besides hymselfe & at the extreame point of death. Then there was a great desolacion and heauines in ỹ campe, they weapte, lamented, and bewayled, that suche a Kynge so noble a capytayne as had not bene sene in any age,

shoulde

shoulde thus be taken from them in the chiefe of his enterprise, and brunt of all hys busines, & that after suche a maner, not in battaile slaine by his enemies, but thus cast away bathing in a riuer. It greeued them that Darius now being at hand should obtaine the victorie by suche a chaunce, without seing of his enemy, & that they shoulde be inforced to retourne backe againe as mẽ banquished by those countries, through the which they had passed before as victorers. In which coũtries al thyngs being destroied by them selues, or by their enemies, it was of necessitie for thẽ to dy for honger, though no man shoulde pursue them. It became a question amonges them selues who should be their Capitaine in their flieng away: or what he were that durst succeede Alexãdre: And though they might saufely arriue at ỹ Sea of *Helespont*, yet who shoulde prepare them passage there. When they had disputed these questions, their argument by & by was turned into compassion towards their Prynce, lamentyng, as men out of theyre wittes, that suche a floure of youth, suche a force of courage as was in hym, that the same theyr kyng and companion in armes, should after thys sorte be taken from them.

In

In the meane season Alexandre begãne to fetche hys wynde somewhat better, and when he came vnto hym selfe, he lyfted vp hys eies and beganne to knowe hys frends that were about hym. That the vehemence of hys sickenes somewhat asswaged, was perceiued in that he beganne to vnderstand the perill he was in. But the pensiuenes of hys mynde was great hynderaunce vnto hys health, for tydynges came that Darius wythin fyue dayes woulde be in *Cilicia*, which was the chyefe thyng that made hym to sorowe and lament. He coulde not take yt but greeuously, that such a victory should be plucked out of his handes through his infirmitie. And that he should be taken as one tyed in fetters, and be put to some shamefull and vile death. He called therefore to hym both hys frendes and Physicions and sayde vnto them: Se in what state of myne busynesse fortune hath taken me. We thinke the noyse of myne enemyes do synge in myne eares, and I whiche moued first the warre, am nowe challenged & prouoked to the fighte. When Darius dyd write to me such proude letters, he was not ignorant of mine estate, yet peraduenture he shalbe receiued, if I may vse mine owne

mynde

mynd in recouery of myne owne health. My case requyreth no slack medicines, nor slow phisitions: I had rather dye stoutly at once, then to consume long tyme in my recouery. Wherfore if there be any hope or cunning in phisicke, let it be shewed. And thynke that I seeke not remedy so muche for myne owne lyfe, as I doe for the care I haue to encounter wyth myne enemyes. When they hearde him speake these wordes, they were in great doubte of hys sodeyne rashnesse, and therefore euery one required him aparte, that he would not enercase hys perill through anye hast, but suffer himselfe to be ordered by ỹ aduyce of his phisitiõs. For they alleged that vnproued remedies were not suspected of them without cause, seyng his enemy had gone about to corrupt suche as were about him, by promising a M. talents to his kyller, whiche cause alleged, they thought no man would bee so bolde to make any experience of Phisike vpon him, which for the want of tryall therof, myght in any wise geue cause of suspection. There was emongst the excellẽt phisitions ỹ came wt Alexander out of Macedon, one Philip of *Acarnon*, which was preferred to him for preseruacion of his health, & had faythfully

serued

ferned him from his childhode, and therfore loued him with entire affection. He promyfed to prouide for the kyng an approued remedy, but fuche one as would worke vehemently: but by the drinking therof, he doubted not, (hee faide) but to expulfe the force of his difeafe. That promife pleafed no mã, but onely him whiche in the proofe thereof fhould abide the perill. For he could endure al thinges better then delay. Darius & hys power were alwaies in his eye, and he had an aſſured confidẽce that the victory fhould fal on his fide, if he might be able but to ſtãd in the ſight of his men. The thing that only greued him was, ý the Phiſition woulde not myniſter before the thirde daye. In the meane ſeaſon Parmenio, whom of all hys nobilitie he truſted moſt, had erhorted hym by his letter, that he ſhoulde not commytte him ſelfe to the cure of Philip, for that hee was corrupted by Darius with a thouſand talents, and the promiſe of his ſiſter in mariage. Thoſe letters brought the king in greate care and doubte, and moued hym to wey and ponder ſecretly with him ſelfe, all thoſe things, that either feare or hope could put in his head. Shal I aduenture (thought he) to drynke this medycine? What if it bee

poyson: shall I not then bee accompted the cause of mine owne deathe: shall I suspecte the fidelity of my Phisition: or shal I suffer mine enemy to kil me in mye bed: yet were it better for me to perish by other mẽs treason, then thus to dye thorough the mine owne faint harte. His minde being thus diuersly wrought, he would shew the contentes of ỹ letter to noe man, but sealed it wt his owne ring, and layde it vnderneath hys pillowe. Two dayes were passed in these imaginations, and the third day the Phisicion came to his beds side wt ỹ medicine readye made. When the king saw him, he raysed vp him selfe vpon his elbowe, & taking the letter in his lefte hande, with the other hand tooke the cuppe, and streyght supped it of. When he had so done, he deliuered ỹ letter to Philip to reade, and whiles he was readyng, he beheld him continually in the face, supposyng that if he had been faulty, some token would haue appeared in his countenaunce. When Philip had read the letter, hee shewed more tokens of displeasauntnes then of feare, and therwithal fel down vpon hys knees, and sayd: Sir, I see my life doth depende vpon your health, but your recouery shall declare that I am falsly charged wyth

this

thys treason: therfore when by my meanes you shal get your healthe, I truste you wyll not then denye me my life. In the meane season lay feare aside, & suffer the medicine to worke & to haue his operacion. Keepe your mynd quiet, & suffer not your self to be troubled wᵗ the superstitious carefulnes of your frends, which though it proceedeth of good will, is notwithstanding much impediment vnto your health. His wordes not onlye satisfied the king, but made him to cõceiue perfit hope of his recouery, & said vnto Philyp: If the gods woulde haue graunted thee to deuise a meane to proue the cõfidẽce I haue in thee, & the good will I beare thee, thou couldst not haue chosen any so good as this is: for notwithstanding the letter I dranke of the medicyne, beleuing thee to be no lesse careful for declaracions of thine own trueth, then for my health, & therwith gaue him his hand. Yet afterwardes when the medicyne began to worke, it was such in operations, that it seemed to verifye Parmenio hys accusement: for he fainted oft, and had much labor to draw his breath. Then Philip left nothing vnproued or vndone ỹ might serue for his purpose. Hee layd warme clothes to his body, & alwaies as hee fainted, renyued

him againe with the sauour of one thyng & other. And when hee perceyued him once to come to him selfe, he ceassed not to fede him with talke, and one while put him in remẽbraunce of his mother and his sisters, and another while of the great victory that was at hand. When the power of the medicyne was once entred into hys veynes there appeared streyght in all parts of his body manifest tokẽs of health. First quicknes came to the spirites, and after the body recouered his strength, a great deale soner then anye man loked for. For the thirde day after hee had been in this case he walked in the sight of the souldiours, whiche wonderfullye reioysed to see him. And theye shewed no lesse affection vnto Philip whom euery one seuerally embraced and gaue him thanks, as if he had been a God. It can not bee expressed besides that naturall veneratiõ that Macedõs vse to beare vnto their prince, in what reuerence they especially had Alexander, & how feruentlye they loued him. Theye had conceiued of him an opinion that he coulde enterprise nothyng but that it was furthered by God, and fortune was so fauourable vnto him, ỹ his rashenes was alwais an increase of his glory. His age besides scarcely

rype, and yet sufficient for so great thinges, did marueilously set forthe all his doinges. And thinges which out of the wars should be counted lightnes, are wont to be most acceptable to the souldiers, as thexercising of hys body amõgst thẽ, his apparel not differing from the common sorte, w̃ his courage and forwardnes in the field: which gifts geuen him of nature, and thinges besides don of policy, did get him both loue and reuerẽce of his people. When Darius heard of Alexanders sicknes, hee marched towardes the riuer of *Euphrates* w̃ al the haste he coulde make, in conueying of so combrous an army. He made there a bridge, and in xv. daies passed ouer, his people hauing great desyre to get *Cilicia* before his enemye. By ỹ tyme Alexander had recouered his strength, and was come to a Citie called *Solos*, which the inhabitauntes yelded vnto him, and for two hundred talentes obtained assurance. Notwithstanding he put a garrison in the Castle, and there celebrated playes, & triumphs which he had vowed to *Aesculapius*, & *Minerua*, for the recouery of his health: Wher being geuen so quietly to his passtime, shewed how little he esteemed the comming of his enemies. Whiles Alexãder was busied

about these things, he receiued pleasant newes, how his men had wonne a battaile of the Persians at *Halicarnassus*, & that the Mindians & Cawnians with diuers other nacions in those partes were brought vnder his obedience. This triumphe once ended, he remoued, & by a bridge made ouer ỹ Riuer of *Pyramus*, hee came to the Citie of *Malon:* & from thẽce with an other remoue, came to a towne called *Castabulon*. There Parmenio returned to the king, which had been sent to searche the streightes that laye betwene them & the Citie of *Isson*. Hee had preuented the Persians at the passage, & so leauing men for the defence therof, toke the Citie of *Isson* that was left desolate. He departed from thence, & did driue the Persiãs out of the mountaines, searching & clearyng al the waies. So ỹ hauing made all things sure for tharmy to passe, he returned agayn both the authour of the acte, & reporter of ỹ thing done. Alexãder encamped within the citie, & ther debated in counsayl, whether it were better to passe on further, or els to tary there for a more sure power whiche was comming to him out of Macedõ. Parmenio was of opiniõ ỹ this place was mosse meetest to abide Darỹ in, & geue geue him battaile,

taile, where both tharmies should be of like force by reason of ye strcightes, wherein noe great multitude could fight at once. He shewed reasons why they ought to eschue the plaines, wherin their enemies should haue great aduãtage through theire great nõbre ye might ẽclose thẽ about. Wherin (he sayd) hee doubted not his enemies stoutnes, but only feared that their owne men might bee ouercome with werines, wher a multitude should fight with a fewe, & freshe men succede in the place of them that faynted. This counsaile was receiued for good, & Alexãder determined in the same place to abide hys enemies. There was in the host of the Macedons one Sylenes a Persian, sent before time frõ the gouernour of Egipt vnto king Philip: who being aduaũced with reward & promocions, chose to liue out of his owne coũtrey, & so folowing Alexãder into *Asia*, was esteemed amõgst those ye the king trusted wel. A souldier of Crete deliuered him a letter frõ Mabarzanes Darius lieutenãt, wherin he exhorted him to do some notable enterprise, whereby hee myght winne fauour and reputacion with Darius. Silenes innocent of this matter, was about diuers times to plẽt ye letter to ye kig, but seing him

occupied with weighty affaires of prouisiõ for the battaile, prolonged the matter. And whiles hee wayted for a more conuenient time, hee brought him selfe in suspicion of treason. For the letter was brought to the kings handes before it was deliuered vnto him: who reading it, did seale the same with a straunge seale, and caused it to be delyuered to Sisenes, to proue therby his fidelitie. But because he concealed the thing manye daies, & opened not ỹ matter to the king, it semed that he consented therunto: And therfore by the kings commaundement he was put to death by the bande of the Cretensiãs. The Greeke souldiours which Thimodes had receiued of Pharnabasus (being those that Darius trusted most) were come vnto him. They perswaded muche Darius to retire backe into the plaines of *Mesopotamia*, and if he would not do so, that at the leaste he should deuide his power, and not commit the whole force of his estate to one stroke of fortune. This counsaile was not so displeasaunt vnto the king, as it was to suche that were about him. For they sayd, mercenary souldiours were alwaies full of treason, & were to be doubted ỹ more for ỹ they coũsatled the army to be deuided, which was for

no

nō other purpose, but onely that they might haue cōmoditie to fly vnto Alexander, whē they should haue any charge committed vn to thē. Ther is nothing therfore more sure for vs (quod they) then to enclose thē roūd about with our army, and to cut thē in pieces, for an example to the world that treasō should neuer be left vnreuenged. But Darius which was of a meke and good dyspo-sicion, refused to commit so cruel an acte, in sleyng suche as had betaken them selues to his truste: For if we shoulde file our handes (quod he) with their bloud, what straunge nacīō would euer then commyt themselues into our handes: allegyng that there ought no man to lose his lyfe for geeuyng foolish counsayle. For who would be bold to geue counsayle, if in counsalyng there should be any peryll: I call you (quod he) to counsayle daylye, and heare the diuersitie of your opi-nions, and yet mistruste not them that geeue me not alwaies the beste counsayle. He caused the Greekes to bee aunswered, that hee gaue them thankes for their good wil. But in returnīg back (he said) hee should geeue vp his countreye into his enemies handes, which were not cōueniēt. And considering ẏ forze ẏ fame is of in ẏ war, in going back

ech

he ſhould appeare to flie. But to differre the fight he thought it worſt of al, ſeing ſo great an army as he had (the winter then approching) coulde not bee vitailed in a deſolate countrey, ẏ had ben waſted bothe by thẽſelues & by their enemies. And for ẏ deuidyng of his power he ſhewed that he could not do it, obſeruing the cuſtomes of his predeceſſours, whiche were not wont to haſarde the battaile, but with whole power. Hee declared ẏ Alexander before his comming ſeemed terrible to the world, & through his abſence was brought in a vaine preſũption. But after he ſaw him come forwards, becãe ware & wel aduiſed, hyding him in the ſtreightes of the mountains, like thoſe coward beaſts, which hearing the noiſe of commers by, do hide themſelues in the dennes of ẏ woods. He hath blinded his ſouldiers (qõ he) wᵭ hys counterfait ſickneſs, but now I wil not ſuffer him to plong the fight any lẽger, whiche if he will refuſe, I will oppreſſe him in his lurking hole. Theſe wordes he ſpake wyth greater auaunt then trueth, & ſent his treaſure & Jewelles wᵭ a ſmall conuoye to *Damaſco in Syria*, & entred wᵭ his army into *Cilicia*, bringing wyth hym accordyng to hys coũtrey maner, both his mother, hys wyfe hys

his little sonne, & his daughters. It chaūced the same night ẏ Alexander was come to ẏ streight entring into *Syria*, Dariꝰ came vn to ẏ place which they call *Pilae Amanicae*: the Persians not doubting at all, but ẏ the Macedons would haue forsakē the Cyty of *Isson*, & fled awaye for feare. For certaine of thē ẏ were weak & could not follow ẏ army were takē, ẏ which Dariꝰ through instigacion of the great men about him, raging in barbarous cruelti, caused their hāds to be cut of, & to be led about his camp, to the entent they might behold the multitude of his mē, whō after sufficiēt view takē, he let thē go to shew Alexander what they had seen. Darius remoued & passed the riuer of *Pyramus*, purposing to pursue after ẏ Macedōs, which he thought had been flying awaye. They whiche hadde theire handes cutte of, came rūning in amongst the Macedons, declaryng that Darius was commynge in greate haste. There was scarcely any credence geeuen to theire woordes, but to bee sure Alexander sent spyes towarꝺ ẏ Sea coast, to know whether Dariꝰ were ther in pſō, or els had sēt sōe other to make a shew of a power. The spies returning, did report that

that his whole army was at hãd, & straight ways the fyers might be seene, which gaue suche a shewe (by reason theye laye straglyng so far abrode to get forage) as though the whole countrey had ben on fier. When Alexander was acertayned of the truth, he encamped in the same place where the tydynges came vnto him, beyng marueilous gladde because hee knewe he shoulde fight, specyally in the streightes, being the thyng that he had alwaies desyred. But as it is commonly seene, when daunger and extremitye is at hande, confidence is conuerted into feare. So hee doubted not wout great cause, ỹ fortune might chaũge vppon hym, by whose fauour he had don so grete actes, & cõsidered her mutabilitie by such things, as she had taken from other, and geuen to him. He sawe there was no prorogation of the time, but that after one night passed, ỹ victory shoulde bee determined. Yet on the other side, hee called vnto remembraunce howe the rewarde ensuyng of the victorye, farre exceaded the aduenture. For as the chaunce was doubtfull, so being discomfyted, he was certayne to dye with honour & perpetuall prayse. When hee hadde wayed these thinges, he gaue order that the souldi-

ours

ours should refreshe themselues, and at the thirde watche to bee armed and in a readynes to set forwardes. He him selfe went vp into the toppe of a mountaine with manye torches and lyghtes about hym, where hee made sacrifice vnto the gods after his cõtrey maner. And when the hour was come appointed vnto the souldiers, at the thyrde sounde of the trumpet, theye were in a readines bothe to marche and fyght. Then exhortacion was geuen vnto them to passe on with bolde courage, and so by the spring of the daye they were come to the streyghtes, wherin their purpose was to preuent Darius. By that time suche as were sent before to shower the countrey, came in, and reported that the Persians were within thyrtye furlonges. Then the battailes were stayed and set in suche order as they shoulde fight. Like as Alexander was enfourmed of Darius, so he was aduertised of Alexander by the peasauntes of the countrey, which came fearefully running vnto him, declaryng ỹ Alexander was at hande. These woordes weare not beleued: for theye coulde not thynke them to bee commyng whom theye thought before to be fledde. But when they perceiued that it was so in deede, because

they

theye weare in better order to pourſue theire enemies thenne to encountre with them in battaile, theye weare ſtriken with a marueilous ſodaine feare. Euery manne toke him to his armour in haſt. Which haſt & the callinge that one made vpon another dyd putte a greater feare amonges theim. Some ran vp to the toppes of the hylles to viewe the Macedons, other fell to bridelinge their horſes. So that the hoſte full of diuerſitie, and not ruled by any certeyn gouernmēt, with their hurley burley, put al things out of order. Darius at the firſt had apoynted one part of his power to take the mountain, which ſetting vpō his enemies backes myght encloſe them both behinde & before: and aſſigned another companye to paſſe alonge the ſea ſyde whiche was on the ryght hand, to kepe his enemies doinge on euery parte. He gaue order alſo that .rr. thouſand ſotemē with a band of archers ſhould paſſe the ryuer of *Pyramus*, and geue an onſet that way. But if they founde anye impediment why they might not do ſo, thē he willed them to retire amonges the moūtaines and inuade their enemies on theire backes. But fortune whiche was of greater force then anye policy, determined thoſe thinges

that

that were well deuyſed, accordynge as they thought good. For ſome durſt not for feare execute the thynge that was commaunded them, and then the reſt worked in vayne. for where the members faile, ỹ whole body ys confoũded. The order of Darius armye ſtode thus aranged to fight: hys power beinge deuided into two battailes: one marchinge on the left hand, and the other on the righte. Mabarzanes enpaled the battaile on the right hande wyth a greate power of horſemen, and .xxx. thouſand Slingers and Archers. Thimones was alſo in the battail with .xxx. thouſand mercenarye Greekes, being in very deede Darius chiefeſt ſaxe: a power equall vnto Phalanx of the Macedons. In the battaile on the left hand Ariſtomenes was in ỹ forefront with .xxx. thouſand fotemen, hauinge planted for hys ſuccour and reliefe, ſuch nacions as were coũted moſte valiaunt. There were aboute the king being alſo in ỹ battail, three thouſand choyſe horſemen, that were of the ordinarie guarde of his perſõ, & .xl. M. fotemẽ, with ỹ horſemẽ of *Hircany*, & *Media*, & ỹ horſemẽ of other nacõs were winges on both ſides. & beſides theſe nũbres, their went before his battell in a forlorne hoope. bi M. Slingers

and

and caſters of dartes. Al the plaine ground betwene the ſtreightes was filled wyth mẽ of warre, and Darius battaile ſtode arranged from the mountaine downe to the Sea ſyde. The mother and wyfe of Darius wᵗ all the flockes of women, were receiued in the middes of the battaile. Alerãdre on the other ſyde ſet his ſquare battaile of footemẽ called Phalanx (being the Macedõs chiefeſt force) in the forefront. Nycanor the ſonne of Parmenio was capitaine of the battaile on the right hande, and wyth him Cenos & Perdicas, Peleager, Ptolomeus, & Aminitas were ioyned euery one wyth his owne band. Parmenio and Caterus had the rule of the battaile on the left hand, which ſtretched towardes the Sea, but Parmenio had the chiefe charge. Horſemen were ſette in winges to both thoſe battailes. The Macedon mẽ, & Theſalien horſemẽ beig apoited to ỹ right hãd battail, & ỹ horſmẽ of Peloponeſe to the battaile on the other ſyde, before which battaile, there were alſo ſet ſlingers with archers amongeſt them, and the Cretenſiãs that were lightly armed, went before ỹ maine battaille. The bande of Agrians that were lately come out of Greece were aſſigned to encountre with thoſe that

Darius

Darius had sent to take the top of ỹ mountain. Ye willed Parmenio ỹ as much as he might, hee should stretche out his band towardes ỹ Sea, to wꝺzaw so far as he could frō the hils whiche the enemies had taken: But such as had directiō by Darius to take the hilles, neither durst resist suche as came against them, noꝛ yet cōpasse about such as were passed by thē, but fled away at ỹ first sight of the Slingers. Which thing chaunced wel foꝛ Alexander, foꝛ it was the thing that he doubted most, that they frō the higher ground should inuade the opē side of his battail, which lay vnflanched towards thē. The Macedons marched. xxxij. in a ranke, foꝛ the streyghtnes of the grounde wouldе not suffer thē to go any bꝛoader, but by lytle & little as the plaine betwene the mountaines begā to ēlarge, so they had libertie both to make theire battailes bꝛoader, & also foꝛ the hoꝛsemē to march vpō the sides. When both the battailes were come wīn sight togethers, the Persians first gaue a terrible & rude shout, which was again doubled of ỹ Macedons, not wᵭ their nūbꝛe, whiche were far inferiour vnto the Persians, but wᵭ the rebound of the hils & the rockes, which doubled euery voice of theirs. Alexāder did ride

vp and dowme before the frontes of his battailes, makynge a sygne to hys souldiours with his hand, that they should not make ouer much hast to ioyne with their enemies, for bringing them selues out of breath. And as he passed by, he vsed to euery nacion sõdry exhortacions, as hee thought meete for theire disposicions and qualitye. He put the Macedons in remembraunce of theyre olde prowes & manhode, with ỹ number of battailes that they had wonne in *Europe*, how ỹ they were come thether aswell by theyre owne desires as by his conducte, to subdue *Asia* and the vttermoste boundes of ỹ Orient. He shewed them to be the people that were ordeined to conquere the worlde, & to passe the boundes both of Hercules & Bacchus. He declared that both *Bactria* & *Inde* should be theirs, in respect of which the coũtries that they had seene were but trifles, & yet were to be gotten all with one victorye: wherein (he sayd) their trauaile shoulde not be in vaine, as yt was in the barreyn rocks of *Illiria*, or in the moũtaines of *Thrace*, but that in this conquest the spoile of the whole Orient was offered vnto them. For ỹ getynge whereof they should scarcely nede to occupie their swordes, since the battailes of

theire

their enemies wauered so already for feare that wᵗ their approche only they shoulde put thē to flyght. He reduced hys father Philyp vnto their memory, how hee conquered the Athenians wᵗ the countrey of *Boetia*, where hee rased to the grounde the noble cytie of *Thebes*. After that hee made rehersall of the battaile wonne at the riuer of *Granike*, and of all the cities that hee had taken, or ẏ had been yelded vnto him, with the countreyes they had passed throughe & subdued. When he came vnto the Greekes, he desired them to cal to minde the great warres ẏ had ben made against their countrey in times passe by the Persiās. First by the pride of Xerxes, and after by Darius, who made destructiō both by water & land in such sort, ẏ the ryuers could not serue them of drynk, nor the earth of victuals for to eat: rehearsing also how the temples of their Goddes had been by them polluted & put to ruine, their cities ouerthrowē, & the truces & promises by thē violated & brokē, that were confirmed both by diuine and humayne lawes. When he passed by the Illirians & Thracians which weare accustomed alwayes to lyue vppon theefte, and spoile: hee bade them beholde their enemies whiche glistered with golde,

and bare no armour, but spoile for them to take. He encouraged them to go forwardes like men, & plucke the pray from those effeminate wome, & to make exchaũge of their craggye rockes and bare hilles alwaies ful of snowe, for the plentifull grounds & riche landes of *Persie*. By the tyme hee had made these exhortacions, they were come wythin ꝯ throwe of their dartes. And Darius horsemen gaue a fierce charge vpõ the right hãd battaile of the Macedons. For Darius desire was to trie the battaile by horsmen, iudgyng (as it was in deede) that the chiefest power of his enemies consisted in theire square battaile of fotemen. So that the battaile wher Alexãd remained, was brought to the point of enclosing about, if he had not perceiued the same in time, who commaunded two troopes of his horsemẽ to kepe the top of the hil, & brought al the rest to the encounter of his enemies. Then he conueyed the Thessalien horsemẽ frõ the place wher they stode to fight, willing their capteine to bring them about behinde the battailes, & there ioynyng with Parmenio, to doe the thing manfullye that hee shoulde appoynt them. By this the Phalanx of the Macedõs in maner enclosed aboute wyth their ene-

myes,

myes, fought notably on al parts, but they stode so thicke, & were so ioyned one to another, that there wanted scope to welde their darts. They were so migled together, that in casting one letted another, very few lighted vpon the enemies with weake dintes & the most part fel on the ground wout harm doing, wherfore being enforced to ioyn hād for hand, they valiauntly vsed the sweord. Then ther was great effusion of bloud: for both the armies closed so neare, ỹ their harneis clashed together, weapon against weapon, & foined one at anothers face w̄ theire swordes. Ther was no place for the fearefull or the coward for to flie back, but ech set his fote to another, & by fighting kepte styll their place, til thei could make their way by force, & so alwais passed forwards, as theye had c̄c ouerthrowē their enemies. As they were wearied & trauailed thus w̄ fightyng, they were euer receiued w̄ fresh enemies & such as were woūded might not depart out of the battail (as it hath ben seen els wher) their enemies assailed thē so fiercely before, & their fellows thrust on so hard behynd. Alexander that day did not only such thinges as pertayned to a Captaine, but aduētured himself as far as any priuate souldier, coue-

tyng by all meanes to kyl Darius, whiche he esteemed the greatest honour. Dari⁹ dyd ride aloft vpō his chariot, geuing great prouocation both to his enemies to assail him, & for his owne men to defend him. As Dratres the brother appeared most notable amongst them al in his furniture & pſonage, so in hardines & affectiō towards the king, he exceded far the rest, specially in that case of necessitie. For when he sawe Alexander approche so neare, he thrust in before Dari⁹ with the band of horsemen wherof hee had the charge, where as ouerthrowing diuers, he put many to flighte. But the Macedons swarmed so about the king, & were in suche a courage by therhortacion that eche made to other, ẏ they charged again vpon ẏ band of horsemē. Then the slaughter was great, & the ouerthrow manifest. About ẏ chariot of Darius, the noblest of his captaines laye dying honourably in the sight of their prīce. For like as they receiued their deaths wouūdes, so they fell wout turning their backes. Amongst them Atyeyes, Romythres, & Sabaces gouernour of Egipt, hauing ẏ charge of great numbers of men, were ouerthrwē & slaine, and about them there laye by heapes a huge nūber of the vulgare sort, bothe

of horsemen & fotemen. Of the Macedons also some were slaine, specially of suche as preſſed moſt forwarde, amongſt whom the righte ſhoulder of Alexander lyghtlye was hurt with a ſworde. In this throng the horſes that drue Darius Chariot, were thruſte in with pikes, which being wood for payne of their woundes, began to ſtruggle & ouer throwe their maſter. He fearing therfore to be taken aliue, leaped downe & was ſet vpō a ledde horſe, & ſo fled away, caſting his Diademe from his head, becauſe he would not be knowen. Then all his men for feare diſparcled, flying by ſuche waies as were opē for them, and threwe away their armoure, whiche before they had taken for theire defence: Suche a thing is feare, that refuſethe the thing ẏ ſhould be his ſauegarde. When Parmenio ſawe them flie, he ſtreyght commaunded the horſemen to purſue them in the chaſe, and put al his enemies to flyghte that weare on that parte. But on the other hand, the Perſians did put the Theſſalyen horſemen to a ſore dyſtreſſe, for at the firſte ſhock they had brokē ōe of their troupes: yet for all ẏ whē the Theſſalians ſaw their enemies pas through thē, they cloſed thēſelues

together againe & charged vpon the Persi-
ans, who by reason of their onset geuing, &
for that theye thought thē selues sure of the
victory, became cleane out of ordre, & were
ouerthrowen with great slaughter. The
Thessaliens had herein a great aduantage
by reason that the Persians besides ỳ theye
be armed them selues, haue their horses al-
so barbed with plates of steele, whiche was
the cause they coulde not on the onset, or re-
tire be so quicke, as the Thessalians were:
for by their celeritie, wherin ỳ feat of horse-
men chiefly consisteth, they had ouerthrowē
many of thē before they could tourne theire
horses about. When Alexander vnderstode
that his men preuailed of their enemies on
that part likewise, was bold then to follow
in the chase, which he durst not do before he
knew the battaile to be clearely wonne, &
thenemies repulsed on al sides. Alexander
had not about him aboue a M. horsemen, w̄
whō hee slew innumerable of his enemies.
For who is he that in a ouerthrow or chase
can nūbre men: Those few Macedons dyd
driue the multitude of their enemies before
them like sheepe, and the same feare that
caused them flie, stayed thē likewise in their
flying. The Grecians that were on Dari-

us

us side, vnder theire Captayne Amintas (which sometime had been in great auctho-ritie with Alexander, but then against him) brake out from the rest and marched away in order of bat taile. Al the rest fled dyuers waies, some directly towards *Persie*, & some by pathes, and priuy waies escaped by the mountaines and the woods. A fewe there were ỹ recouered their former camp, which they could not defende anye tyme agaynste the Macedons that were victours, but the same immediatelye was wonne, being haboundant of al riches, of gold & siluer, appertaining not only to the wars, but to all voluptuousnes & excesse: which riches whiles the souldiers violently spoiled, they strowed the wais ful of packs & fardels, which they would not touch, in respect of the couetous desire they had to things of greater valew. But when they came vnto the womẽ, as theire tirements were most precious, so the more violently they plucked thẽ away, & their bodies were not free frõ their lust & enforcement. The cãpe euery where was full of tumulte & lamentacion, as chaunce fell to eche one. The licenciousnes of the victoters was such, that their crueltie raged vpõ al ages & kinde of creatures, & no kinde of

mischiefe

mischiefe wanted amongst them. There might haue been seene the variableneſſe of fortune, when they whiche hadde prepared Darius pauilion with all kynde of delicacy and riche furniture, reserued & kept ỹ same for Alexander as for their olde maſter. For the Macedons had lefte that vnspoyled according to their auncient custome, whyche are euer wont to receiue theire kyng when he is victorious, into the kynges pauilion ỹ he hath vanquished. The mother and wife of Darius that were ther taken prisoners, moued al men to caſt their eyes & inwarde contemplacion towardes them, wherof the one deserued to be reuerẽced for the maieſty that was in her, and for her age, & the other for the excellency of her beauty, whiche thorough her misaduenture was nothing stayned. She was seen embracing her litle sõne in her armes, not yet of the age of vi. yeres, borne as enheritour to the dominion which his father newly had loſt. There laye also two young virgins in their grandmothers lap, euen then mariable, which languished & lamented not so much through their own priuate sorow, as for the dolorousnes of the old woman. About the mother and the wife weare a great numbre of noble weomen ỹ

pulled

pulled their heare and tare their clothes, wt-
out respect what apertained to their estate.
Who vnmindfull of the fall Darius wyfe
& his mother were come vnto, called them
still by the name of Queenes, with suche o-
ther titles of honor as thei did before. They
all forgetting their owne misery, were dy-
ligent to enquire the fortune of the fielde, &
what successe the battaile had where Darius
was. For if he were aliue (they sayde) they
coulde in no wise thynke themselues priso-
ners. But hee by the chaungyng of manye
horses, was by that tyme fled farre awaye.
There were slaine of the Persian fotemen
a hundred thousand, and ten. M. horsemen.
And of Alexanders companye onelye. 504.
hurt, & .xxxij. fotemen, & .Cl. horsemē killed.
So great a victorye was gotten wyth so
small a losse. Alexāder that was weried w
pursuing of Darius, when he perceiued the
night to drawe on, and that there was noe
hope, to ouertake him whom he folowed, re
turned into the Persians campe, whiche a
lyttle beefore hys commyng was taken
by hys menne. That nyghte hee made
a banquette to suche as hee accustomed to
cal, for the hurt of his shoulder, wherof the
skynne was but smally perished, letted him
not

not to kepe company. As they ſate at meat, ſodainly they hard a pitiful cry, wᵗ a ſtraũge howling & lamentation, that put thē all in great feare: In ſo much ỹ the bād ỹ kept ỹ watche about the kinges Paullion, fearing it to be the beginning of ſome greater matter, begā to arme themſelues. The wyfe & mother of Darius, with the other noble women newly taken pꝛiſoners, were the cauſe of his ſodayns feare, by lamentyng of Darius, whom they ſuppoſed had been ſlayne. Which opinion they cõceiued thꝛough one of ỹ Eunuches, which ſtanding beforꝛe their tent doꝛꝛe, ſaw a ſouldier cary a parcell of Darius Diademe, which he a little beforꝛe had caſt from his head. When Alexander vnderſtode their errour, he wept (as it was ſaid) to cõſider Dariꝰ miſfoꝛtune, & ỹ weomens affection towardes him. And foꝛ their comfoꝛte, ſent to them one Withzenes ỹ betraied Sardes, who was expert in the Perſian toung, but yet conſidering that ỹ ſight of him being a traitour, ſhould but encreaſe theire ſoꝛowe, ſent a noble manne called *Leonatus*, to declare to them howe they were deceiued, and that Darius was aliue. Hee came towardes the tent where the wemen were, wyth certayne men in harneys, and

ſent

sent word before, that he was come thyther from the king. But when suche as stoode at the tent doare sawe armed men commyng, supposing their errand had ben to murther their mistresses, ranne in to thē, & cryed out that their last howre was come, for ỹ men were at hande that were sent to kill them. The seruaunts therefore that neyther durst let Leonatus in, nor kepe him out, brought him no aunswer, but remained quyetlye to see what hee would doe. When Leonatus had long taried at the doare, & sawe none came forthe to call him in, left his mē without, and entred amonst the women. Whose comming vnto them before he was admytted, was the thing that feared thē moste of al. The mother therfore & wife of Dariꝰ fel downe at his feete, requyring him that before they were slayne, he woulde suffer thē to burye Darius after his countrey maner: which last obseruaunce perfourmed, theye were content (they sayde) gladlye to suffer death. Leonatus assured thē that both Darius was a liue, & that there was no harme towardes them, but should remaine in the same estate they were in before. When Sisigambis heard those wordes, shee suffered her selfe to be lift vp from the grounde, and

to

to receiue some comfort. The nert day Alexander with great diligence, buried the bodies of such of his owne men as coulde bee found, & willed the same to be done to ỹ noble men of the Persians, geuing licence to Dariꝰ mother to bury so many as she lyst, after the custome of her countrey. She performed the same to a fewe that were nerte of her kinne, according to the hability of her present fortune, for if she should haue vsed the Persians pompe therin, the Macedons might haue ẽuied it, which beyng victorers vsed no great curiositie in the matter. Wh̃ the due was performed to the dead, Alexander signified to the womẽ prisoners, ỹ he himselfe would come to visite thẽ, & causing such as came with him to tary without, he only w̃ Ephestion ẽtred in amongst them. The same Ephestion of all men was most deare vnto Alexander, brought vp in his cõpany frõ his youth, & most priuy with hym in all thinges. There was none that hadde suche libertie to speake his mynde playnely to the king as hee hadde, whiche he vsed after suche sorte, that hee seemed to doe it by no authoritie, but by sufferaunce. And as hee was of lyke yeres vnto him, so in shape and personage he dyd somewhat excel him.

Wherfore

Wherfore the weomẽ thinkyng Ephestion to bee the kyng, dyd fall downe & woorshyppe hym (as theire countreye manner was to doe to kynges) tyll such tyme as one of the Eunukes that was taken prysoner, shewed whyche of them was Alexander. Then Sisigambis fell downe at his feete, requiring pardon of her ignorauncꝛe, for so muche as she did neuer see hym before. The king toke her vp by the hand, and sayd: mother, yau be not deceiued, for thys is Alexãder also. Whiche his humilitie and contynency of mynde if he had continually obserued to his latter daies, he might haue been thought muche more happier then he was, when that he hauing subdued al *Asia* from Hellespont to the Occean Sea, did counterfait the triumphes of Bacchus. Or yf that amõgst ỹ rest of his conqsts, he would haue laboured to conquere his pryde & his ire, being vices inuincible. Or if in his dronkennes he would haue abstained from ỹ slaughter of his nobilitie, & not to haue put to deth those excellent men of warre without iugemẽt, which helped hi to cõquere so many nacyõs: But at this time ỹ greatnes of his fortune had not yet altered his nature, though afterwards he could not bere his victories wỹ

that

that vertue he dyd wynne them. Then he behaued himselfe after suche a maner, that he exceded in continency & compassion, all the kinges that had beene before his time. He entertained the two quenes with those virgins that were of excellent beawtie so reuerentlye, as yf they had been his sisters. He not only abstained from all violacion of Darius wyfe, which in beauty excelled al ỹ women of her time, but also toke great care & diligence, that none other shoulde procure her to any dishonour. And to all the womē he commaunded theire ornamentes and apparaile to be restored. So that they wanted nothing of the magnificence of their former estate, sauinge onlye the assured confidence that creatures want in myserye. Whyche thinges considered by Sisigambis, she sayd vnto ỹ kinge: Syr your goodnes towardes vs dothe deserue, that we shoulde make the same prayer for you, that we dyd somtyme for Darius, and we perceiue you worthy to passe so great a kinge as he was in felicitie and good fortune, that abounde so in iustice and clemencye. You vouchsafe to cal me by the name of mother and of Quene, but I confesse my selfe to be your hādmaide. For both I conceaue the greatnesse of my estate

past

paſt, and feele that I can beare this preſent ſeruitude. It lieth only in your handes how we ſhall be dealt withall, and whether you will make vs notable to the world, through your clemency or cruelty. The kinge comforted them all he might, and willing them to be of good cheare, toke Darius ſon in his armes. Thereat the chylde was nothynge afeaide, hauing neuer ſeene him before, but toke and imbraced him about the necke. He was ſo moued with ỹ conſtancy of ỹ childe, that he behelde Epheſtion and ſayde: oh I would that Darius had had ſome parte of this gentle diſpoſitiõ. When he was departed from thence, he cauſed three aultares to be made vpon the riuer of *Piramus*, & there dyd ſacrifice to Iupiter, Hercules, & Minerua, and ſo went forewardes into *Siria*. He ſent Parmenio before to *Damaſco*, wheras Darius treaſure dyd remaine: who vnderſtanding by the waye that Darius had ſent one of his nobles thither, fearing that for ỹ ſmalenes of his owne number the Damaſcens would kepe him out, determined to ſẽd for a greater power. But by chaunce one Bardus fell into the handes of the horſemẽ that he had ſent before to ſcowre the countrey, whiche being brought before Parme-

nio, delyuered him the letters that the Capitaine of *Damasco* had sent to Alexander, and besides the letters, added of himselfe, that he doubted not but all Darius ryches and his treasure should be deliuered to him at hys arriuall. Parmenio gaue the charge to certein of his menne for hys sure keping and then opened the letters, wherin it was conteyned that Alexander in all hast should sende one of his Capitaynes thither wyth a small power. Whiche thing knowen, he sent Bardus back agayne to *Damasco*, with certeine to accompany him: but he eskaped out of their handes, and came to *Damasco* before daye lyght. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubting that his enemies had laide some embushment for him, and therefore durst not goe an vnknowen waye without a guyde. Yet notwythstanding, vpon the confidence he had in the felicitie of his Prince, toke peasants of ỹ countrey to conduct him the way, which the iiij. daye, brought him to the Citie of *Damasco*. The capitaine doubting ỹ credence should not be geuen to his letter, pretented to mistrust the strength of the towne, and made countenaunce as though he woulde flye awaye. By the spring of the daye, he caused

Darius

Darius treasure (whiche the Persians call Gaza) with the rest of al his precious thinges to be brought furth of the town, of purpose to betraye the same into the Macedons handes. There were many thousandes of menne and women that folowed, a piteous sight to all that sawe them, sauyng to him, to whose fidelitie they were comitted. For he to winne himselfe thankes, purposed to deliuer to his enemyes a praye more precious then all the rest, which were suche of the nobilitie as he had in keeping, wyth the wyues and children of greate men that bare rule vnder Darius: and beysdes, the Embassadours of ỹ Cities of Greece, whō Darius had lefte in ỹ traytours hands, as in a fortresse to his thinking, of moste suretie. The Persians cal those (Gangabe) that cary burthens vppon their shoulders, who hauing the cariage of thinges of moste valure, when they coulde not endure the colde for the frost and snowe that sodeynlye fell, they putt vppon them the Robes of clothe of Golde and purple, whiche they caryed wrapt vp together wyth the money, there being no man to let them: For the aduersitie of Darius caused that base sort of men to vse a licēcious liberty. Those kynd of mē

semed to Parmenio at the fyrst syghte to be no small armye, and therfore regarded not the matter lyghtlye, but gaue exhortacion to those that were w̄ hym, as thoughe they should haue fought a sore battaile, and willed them to put their spurres to their horse, and geue the charge. With wych thinge perceiued by theym ỹ bare the burdeyns, they fled away for feare, and so dyd the men of warr that were wyth theym, by suche wayes as they best knewe. The captaine of *Damasco* counterfaitting such feare as other feared in deede, was the cause of all thys confusion. The riches of Darius was left alone, and laye sparkeled abroade ouer all the fieldes, with the money that was prepared for the wages of so infinite a numbre of souldiers, and also the apparaile of so many great mē and noble women, vessels of golden furnimentes for horses, pauilions adorned with regall magnificence, and Waggons full of infinite riches. A thinge euen sorowfull to beholde to the spoylers, if anye thinge could staye the couetousnes of men. Was it not a pitiful thing to behold, the riches that had beene gathered together in so great number of yeares, whyles the state of the Persians stode in that incredible heyghte of for-

tune

tune, one parte to bee torne with bushes, & another drowned in the myre, it being so great besides, that the handes of ẏ spoylers could not suffice for the spoyle. When the horsemen had ouertaken them that fledd, first they found dyuers women harlyng of the small children, emongest whome there were foure virgins, the doughters of Ochus, that reigned nexte before Darius. They before that tyme had suffered change of Fortune, when the state was altered frō their fathers lyne. But this aduersitie was muche more greuous vnto them. There was in this flocke the wyfe of Ochus, the doughter of Oratrir that was Darius brother, and the wife of Artabasus which was of the head house of Persia, with his sonne also called Ilionesus. The wife and the sonne of Farnabasus were also taken, to whome Darius had committed the charge of all the Sea coastes, and with them the three doughters of Mentor, the wife & the sonne of the noble Capytaine Memnon. There was scarcely any house of the nobilitie of Perse free from that euill aduenture. There were bothe Lacedemonians and Athenians, that contrary to the league betwene Alexander and them, toke Darius

parte. Emonges the Athenians Aristogi-ton, Dzopides, and Leuertes were of most notable fame and lynage. And of the La-cedemonians the chiefest were Perisippus and Dnomastozides wyth Dmanys and Callicratides. The summe of the coyned money there taken, was two thousand. ir. talents, and of massy siluer .v. hundzed ta-lentes. Beside rrr. thousand men, and vij. thousande beastes that caried burdeynes on their backes. But the Goddes did per-secute with due punishement the betrayer of such a treasure. Foz one whome he had made pzyuie to the matter, pitying therein the estate of his Pzince, dyd slea the tray-tour, and bzought his head to Darius. A comfozt not vnapt foz the tyme to the be-trayde kyng. Foz thereby he was both re-uenged of his enemy, and perceiued that the memozy due vnto his estate, was not growen out of all mennes hartes.

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¶ The fowerth booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, king of Macedon.

(∴)

DArius whiche a little before was Lorde of so great an army, and that came vnto the fielde caried aloft vppon hys chariot, more like to triumph then to fyght: fledd by the places then waste and desert, whiche he before had filled with his infinite numbers of menne of warre. There were but fewe that followed hym: For neither they fled all one way, nor such as followed coulde kepe pace with him that so often changed horses. At length he came to *Vrchas* where he was receiued of fifty. M. Grekes, whiche conducted him to the Ryuer of *Euphrates*, thinking all suche hys countreys to be lost, in ẏ which he could not preuent Alexander by hast making. Parmenio was apointed gouernour of *Siria*, & to be the keeper of the treasure and prisoners which he tooke at *Damasco*. The Sirians could not at ẏ first bear ẏ new gouernmẽt, because they had not yet felt ẏ scourge of ẏ warres, but as they revolted, they wer

 streight-

streightway subdued, perfourming all that they were appoynted to doe. The Ile of *Arade* was yelden to Alexander, whereof Strato was king, that had in subiection all the Sea coast, with dyuers of the Ilande countries, who submitting him self, Alexãder remoued to the citie of *Marathon*. Ther he receiued letters from Darius, that putt him in great chole, because they were so arrogantly written. The speciall point that moued Alexander, was for that Darius writing him self king, did not vouchsafe to geue him that tytle, but did write rather by waye of commaundement then of requeste, profering for the raunsome of his wife and children, so much money as Macedon could receiue. For the superioritie (he sayde) he put it to his choise, to trye it by the sword if he list. But if he would be better aduysed, he willed him to be content with his own enheritance, and so he would ioyn in amitie with him, & become his frende, in which pointe he was ready to enter into treatye. Alexander did write to him againe after this maner: Darius whose name thou hast vsurped, did great destruction vppon the Greekes inhabiting on the coast of *Hellespont*, and vppon the Ionians which be Greeke Cities, passyng from thence the sea with a great armye to make warre

against

againste Greece and Macedone. And also kyng Xerxes thy predecessour came to subdue vs with infinite numbers, whiche being vanquished in a battaile on the sea, left not withstanding Mardonius behynd him in Greece, to destroy their cities and burne their countreys. It is manyfest besides that Philip my father was slayne by such as were corrupted thereunto with your money. Ye vndertake alwaies vniust warres, & occupiyng armes, go about for al that to circumuent men with treason. As thou of late, hauing suche number of men in thine army, diddest procure my death with the promise of a thousand Talentes. I am not therefore the beginner of the warres, but repulse suche iniuries as be profered mee. In doing whereof through the helpe of the Gods (which fauour alwaie the right) haue brought the more part of *Asia* vnder my subiection: and hauing ouercome thee in battayle by force of armes, there is no cause that I should graunt thee any thing, whiche hast not obserued towardes me the law of armes, yet if thou wilt come & submitt thy selfe, I promis thee that I will deliuer bothe thy mother, wife & children: for both I know how to get the victory, & howe to vse suche as I ouercome, but if thou feareste to committ thy self to vs, I will geue thee safe conduite to come freely. In the rest when thou writest vnto mee, remember that thou writest not onlye to a kyng, but also vnto him that is thy kyng. He sent this letter by Thersippus, & went from thence into *Phenicia*, where the cytie of *Biblon* was yelded vnto hym. And so came vnto *Sydon* which was a citie of great nobilitie, by reason of the antiquitie and fame of the buylders. The same was vn-

der

der Straton dominion, suppoꝛted by ỹ poꝛwer of Dartus, who yelding moꝛe by the constreint of the people, then of hys owne good will, was thought vnwoꝛthy to reign there. Alexander made a graunt to Ephestion that he shoulde make suche one kyng, whome the Sidone thought most woꝛthye that estate. There were diuers noble yong men in that Citye that had familiaritye wᵗ Ephestion, of whome he purposed to haue chosen one kyng: but they refused hys ofꝛfer: affirming that none might enioye that dignitie, excepte he were descended of the bloud royall. Ephestion wondered at the magnanimitie that was in them, in despiꝛsyng the thing whyche other sought foꝛ by swoꝛde and fyꝛe, and therefoꝛe sayde: continue you still in that vertuous mynd, which be the fyꝛst that haue vnderstandyng, howe muche better it is to refuse then to receyue a kyngdome. Chooꝛse you therfoꝛe such one of the bloud royall, that maye remember he hath receiued the rule at your handes. But when they sawe diuers gapyng foꝛ it, and foꝛ the gredynes they had to reigne, fell to flattering of suche as were nere about Alexander, resolued that there was none moꝛe meete foꝛ that dignitie, then one Abdolominus

dolominus, who being of the auncẽt blou
of the Kynges, for pouertye was enforced
to dwell in a small grange wythout the ci-
tye. Hys honesty was the cause of hys po-
uerty (as it is to many other) and beyng
occupyed in hys daylye labour, heard no
noyse of the warres that troubled all Asia.
They of whome we spake of before, came
into hys gardeyne with garmentes to ap-
parell hym like a kyng, and founde hym
weadyng of hys ground, whome they salu-
ted kyng, and sayde: You must make er-
chaunge of the vylenes of your apparayle,
with these riche robes we here present you:
Washe the bodye that is nowe foule and
fylthy, take vppon you the harte of a kyng,
and in this Fortune whereof you be wor-
thye, shewe the same moderacion and con-
tinency you do vse presently. And when
you shall sytt in your regall seate hauynge
in your handes power of the lyfe and death
of your people, do in no wise forget the es-
tate ye were in when ye tooke the kyng-
dome vppon you, nor yet for what purpose
ye did receyue it. The matter seemed to
Abdolominus lyke a dreame, and asked
them if they were mad that woulde mocke
him after ỹ maner. But when he saw them

affirme

affirme by othes the thing to be in earnest, he washed him selfe, and receiuing the garment which was of purple and gold, went with them into the palace. The fame (as is wont in such a case) did notably runne abrode of this matter. Some fauoured the cause, and some did disdaine it, but suche as were rich, did reproue his pouertie and base estate to such as were neere about Alexander, which caused the king to sende for him, and when hee had long beholden his behauour, saide: your personage doth not disagree to the fame of your lynage. But I desyre to knowe with what pacience you dyd susteyne your pouertie. I woulde to God (q he) I could beare my prosperitie in lyke case nowe when I am a kyng. These handes did get that I desyred, and hauing nothing, I lacked nothing. Hys wordes caused Alexander to conceiue of hym a marueilous opinion, so that he gaue vnto him not only the ryches, stuffe, and furniments apperteyning to the king before, but also many thinges that were taken from the Persians, addyng to his dominion all the cõtrey nere about the citie. In the meane season Amintas with four thousand Greekes that escaped with him out of the field, fledd

to

to *Tripolis*, where he embarked, and sayled vnto *Cypres*: thinking the woꝛld to be suche then, that euery one myght enioy that he could get, like as it had ben his owne inheritance. His purpose was to go into *Egipt*, thinking there to become enemye bothe to Darius and Alexander, and to waye wyth the woꝛlde, accoꝛding as the tyme shoulde alter. To bꝛing therefoꝛe his souldiours to hope wel of his enterpꝛise, he declared howe the gouernour of *Egipt* was slaine in ꝯ battell, & that the Persians left there in guarison were but a small nomber, of little foꝛce, & without any head. He shewed howe the Egiptians vsed to rebell againste their gouernours, wherfoꝛe they were sure to be receyued as frendes. Foꝛ since necessitie (qꝺ he) hath enfoꝛced vs to pꝛoue our foꝛtunes, which fayling vs in our first hope we must nowe thinke that thinges to come shal bee much better then our pꝛesent estate. They all agreed with one voice, that he shoulde lead them where he list. Whereupon thinking good not to pꝛetermitt the occasyon whiles the hope was hotte in their hartes, conueied them into *Egipt*, and entred the hauen at *Pelusium*, vnder pꝛetence that hee had bene sent thether by Darius. When he had

had gotten *Peluſium*, he ſett forwardes to-wardes *Memphis*, at the fame of whoſe com ming, the Egiptians being a light nacion, & more apt to make a ſturre then to mayn-teyne it when it is once begon, ran to hym out of all townes and villages, wyth en-tent to deſtroye all the Perſians. But they notwythſtanding the feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the countrey, but fought wyth the Greekes, and were put to flyght. After that victory Amyntas beſieged *Memphis*, and his menne deſtroied ſo all the countrey thereaboutes, that they lefte nothing vnſpoyled. Whereupon Ma-zeches, though he perceiued his ſouldiours muche amazed wyth the feare of theire late ouerthrowe, yet when he ſaw his enemies ſcatered abrode and wythout order, for the pryde they had conceiued of their victory: at length perſwaded his men to iſſue out of the citie, and in ſetting vpō their enemies, recouer agayne that they had loſt. Which aduiſe being good of it ſelfe, by good han-deling tooke moſte fortunate ſucceſſe. For they ſlewe at that tyme both Amintas and all his company. This punyſhement he ſuf-fered for the offence comitted to both Prin-ces, being neyther faithfull to Alexander

whome

whome he forsoke, nor to Darius to whom he fled. Darius capitaynes whiche escaped from the battayle at *Isson*, gathering together suche men as were scattered abroade, and suche power besyde as they could leuie in *Capadoce* and *Paphlagonia*, did attẽpt to recouer agayne the countrey of *Lidia*. Antigonus was gouernour for Alexander there, who notwithstandyng that he hadde taken many souldiers out of the guarisons to sende vnto Alexander: yet he so litle esteemed his enemies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battaile. The Persians receiued there the lyke fortune they dyd in other places: whiche attempting the fyght in three sundrye countries, were vanquyshed in them all. At the same tyme ẏ name of the Macedons whyche Alexander had sẽt for out of Greece, meeting Aristomenes (whom Darius had apointed to make war vpon the coast of *Heleſpont*) toke and drowned all his shyppes. Farnabasus Darius admirall, hauyng exacted money at *Miletum*, and sette a guarison in *Scio*, passed into the Ile of *Andros* wyth a hundred shippes. And from thence he went to *Syphnus*, and puttyng menne of warre into all the Ilandes, exacted of them money.

The

The greatnes of the warre ỹ was in hand betweene two of the moste puissant ꝑynces of *Asia* and *Europe*, did drawe bothe Greece and Crete to armes. Agis the king of *Lacedemon* gathered together viij. thousande Greekes that were come home out of *Cylicia*, and moued warre to Antipater, that was gouernour of Macedō. The Cretians folowing sometime one part, & sometime another, receyued one while guarysō of Macedons, & another while of Lacedemonians, to lye amonges them. But thois warres were of no great importance. For all mens eyes were fixed vpon the warres that were in vre betwene Alexander & Darius, whereuppon all the rest did depende. The Macedons had subdued all *Siria* and *Phenices*, *Tyre* onlye excepte, whiche beyng the greatest & most notable citie of all that countrey, shewed that they esteemed themselues worthy rather to ioyne with Alexāder as frendes, then to become his subiects. For when he was come nere vnto them, & encamped vpon the mayne land, whiche is deuyded from their citie wyth a small arme of the Sea: They sent to him by their Embassadours a crowne of Gold for a present, wyth great plenty besydes of victuals

for

for his armye. He receiued their giftes, as from his frends, and gaue gentle answers vnto ỹ Embassadours: but he shewed him selfe muche desyrous to make sacrifice vnto *Hercules* (whō the Tirians specially worshipped, & the Macedon kings supposed thē selues to be discended of him) being admonished therunto (as he sayde) by an Oracle. The Embassadours made aunswere: that there was a temple of *Hercules* wythout their citie in the place which they call *Phaletiron*, where as he might do sacrifice at hys pleasure. At those wordes Alexander could not refrayne his yre, whereunto hee was muche subiect, but fell in a rage: I perceiue now (quod he) because ye dwell in an Ilande, ye trust so much in the situacion of your Citie that ye despise my land power. But I will shortly doe you to vnderstande, that ye dwell vpon the mayne land, and bring you in suche case, as your Ilande shall not helpe you: and therefore trust to it that if ye receiue mee not in, I will enter by force.

When the Embassadours were dismissed with this aunswere, suche as were neare about the king, perswaded them that they should not exclude him, whome all *Siria* & *Phenises* had receiued. But they had conceyued suche a confidence for that their Citye stode in the Sea, deuyded lxxx. furlongs frō the mayn lande, that they vtterly determi-

ned to abyde the siege. That Sea of theirs is muche subiect to the southwest wynde, which made at euery storme ẏ waues beate so high against the shoare, that it woulde not suffer the Macedons to make any worke for the ioynting of the mayne land to the citie: it being scarcely possible to worke anye thing there, when the weather was most caulme. The firste woorke that the Macedons began, was by and by throwen down with the vehemency of the Seas that were driuen by the wind. For they could make no Pole so strong within the Sea, but that it was washed awaye, and brought downe by beating of the waues. And when the wynde blewe streinably, it woulde bringe the seas clean ouer the worke. There was another difficultie no lesse then this. For by reason that the walles were inuironed about with the deapnes of the sea, they could raise no engine to shoote but a far of out of shippes, nor there was not anye grounde about the citie, whereupon ladders mought haue bene raised against the walles, or approche made vnto them by land. Alexander had no shippes, & thoughe he had had some, and would haue coueted to bring them to ẏ walles, yet by reason of the vnstablenes of

the

the water, they myght wyth shotte easelye haue bene kept of. But emonges the rest of other thinges, the Tirians were wonderfully encouraged by the cõming of ỹ Embassadours sent frõ Carthage, to celebrate a yerely sacrifice, according to their custõe. For the Tirians being ỹ buylders of Carthage, were since that tyme had in veneracion of them as their parentes & first founders. Those Embassadours exhorted them in any wise to abyde the siege, and promysed them shortly ayde, which they alleaged might easely and soone be done, forsomuche as at that time all the seas were full of the Carthage fleetes. Upon this harting they determined to abyde the extremitie, & placed their engynes vppon the towers & the walles, deuiding their armour emonges ỹ youth of the citie. The artificers, wherof ỹ citie had greate plentie, were deuyded into woorke houses to make all such thinges as were necessary for ỹ warres. There were deuised certeine instrumentes where wyth they myght pull downe the woorkes ỹ their enemyes made, called Harpagons, & also crowes of Iron named Corui, wyth all other thynges that myght bee inuented for the defence of cities. But a straunge thing

is reported that when the Iron was put in the Forge & blowen in the fyre, the same was seene to be full of droppes of blood. Which wonder the Tirians did interprete as a token of good fortune towardes them selues, and as a signification of destruccion towardes their enemies. A like thing was seene emonges the Macedons. For when a certaine souldiour was breaking of hys bread, droppes of bloude appeared therein. Wherat Alexander being astonied, Aristander that was moste cunning of all the diuyners of their religion, did interprete thus the matter. If the bloud had appeared outwardly, then it had signified euill Fortune to the Macedons, but in asmuche as it was found within, it betokened destrucciō to the citie they went about to get. Alexander considering his nauye to be farre from him, and that a long siege shoulde be great impediment to his other affaires, sent officers of Armes vnto the Citie to perswade them vnto peace, whom ỹ Tirians against the law of nations did drowne in the Sea. Their vniust deathe sturred Alexander so muche, that he then vtterly determined to goe forwardes with the siege. But before he coulde make his approche, it was of ne-

cessitie

ceſſitie for him to make a Pere or a Mole, whereby they might paſſe from the mayne lande to the Citie. But in the making ther of there entred great diſpayre into al mens heartes conſidering the deepnes of the ſea, inhiche they ſawe not poſſible to bee fylled ſcarcely by any diuine power. For they thought no ſtones ſo great, no trees ſo high nor anye countrey to haue ſuche plenty as might ſuffice for the buylding of a banke in ſuch a place, conſidering the ſea remayned alwaies troubled. And ỹ narrower ỹ place was betwene ỹ citie and the land, ſo muche more greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the waye to allure his ſouldiers to whateffect him pleaſed, declared how that *Hercules* appeared vnto hym in his ſleape and gaue him his hand, profering to be his Capitaine and his guyde for the entraunce of the citie. Therunto he added the killing of his Embaſſadours, wherby they had violated & broken the lawe that all nacions obſerued, and that ther remained but onely one citie whiche ſtayed his victorye. Thereupon he deuyded ỹ worke emongeſt his capitaynes, that euerye one myght applye his own band, and ſo put the worke in vre, when he had once ſufficiently encou-

raged his men. There were great plentye of stones at hande of the mynes of the olde citie where *Tyre* stode before, and for ỳ making of boates and towres tymber was brought frō the mount *Libanus*. The worke did growe from the bottome of the Sea like a Mountayne, but not yet brought to the high water mark. And the further ỳ Pere was wrought from the lande vnto the seawarde, so much the soner the Sea did swallowe vp the substance of thinges, wherof ỳ same was made. Whiles the Macedones were thus about their worke, the Tirians would come about them in small vessels, & geue them wordes of reproche & scorne: as, they were now become goodly mē of warr, that would be made pyoners & carrye burdens like beastes vppon their backes. And they asked them also if they thought Alexander to be greater then the God of the sea. But their reproofe did not hynder but encrease the chierefulnes of the souldiours in their payne & trauaile. In so much the Mole in a short space surmounted aboue the water & encreasing much in breadth, approched neare vnto the Citie. Then the Tirians seeing the hugenes of the worke, in the increase whereof they sawe themselues dys-

ceiued

ceyued, lyttle thinking that it woulde haue growen to such passe, in little vessels came rowing about the Pere, and did driue the souldiers with shotte from their working, and because it laye in them to bring theire boates sodainly forwardes, & returne sone agayne, they hurt many of the Macedones without any daunger to themselues, enforcing them to leaue their worke, & fall to their owne defence. For remedy whereof, & to auoide their enemies shotte, they were compelled to stretche out beastes skynnes vppon polles lyke sayles, and set those betweene them and their enemyes. And besydes at the head of the Pere, they raysed vp two Towers from whence with shotte and castynge of Dartes, they kepte of the boates that came about them. On the other syde, the Tirians woulde lande wyth their boates farre out of the syght of the campe, and kyll such as were carying of stones. The peasauntes besydes of *Arabie* dyd sett vppon certayne Macedons that were scattered abroade in the Mounte *Libanus*, where they slewe and tooke dyuers. That was one cause whiche moued Alexander to deuyde hys Armye. And lest he myght seeme to remayne idly about

the siege of one Citie, he apointed Perdicas and Craterus to take the charge of ỹ woꝛk he had in hande, and went into *Arabia* wᵗ ſuche parte of his power moſte apte foꝛ hys purpoſe. In the meane ſeaſon the Tyꝛians pꝛepared a greate ſhippe laden with ſtones and grauell behynde, ſo that the foꝛeparte floted aboue the water, whiche ſhippes annoynted ouer with pitch & bꝛimſtone, they bꝛought ſodeinlye by ſaylinge and foꝛce of oares vnto the Pere, and there remaining, the maryners ſet the ſhyp on fyꝛe, and then leaped into the boates which folowed after foꝛ the purpoſe. The ſhip thus ſette on fyꝛe ſo enflamed the wood woꝛke pertaynyng to the Pere, that befoꝛe anye reſcue coulde come, the fyꝛe had taken the towers of the Pere, & all the reſt of the woꝛkes that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boates, ſaw the matter take ſuch effecte, they put betwirt the tymber & other void places, both fiꝛebꝛandes, and al ſuch thinges as might geue nouriſhement and encreaſe to the fyꝛe: ſo that the towers and all the reſt being on a flame, manye of the Macedons were conſumed therwith, & the reſt foꝛſooke their armour and thꝛewe them ſelues into ỹ ſea. Then the Tirians

that

ẏ were moze desirous to take thē on lyue, to kyll them wyth staues and stones, did so beate them on ẏ hands as they were swimming, that foz werines they were glad to be taken vp into their boates. The whole wozke was not consumed with fire onely. Foz it chaunsed also the same day a terrible wynd to ryse, which blowing out of ẏ sea, brought the waues with such vyolence vpō the Mole, that wyth often beating of the seas, the ioyntes that knitt the wozke together, began to lose & leaue their hold. Then ẏ water that washed through, brake down the Mole in the myddes, so that the heapes of stones whiche were befoze susteyned by ẏ timber & earthe cast betwixt them once broken a sunder, the whole woozke fell to ruyne and was caried away into the deepe Sea. By that tyme Alexander was returned out of *Arabye*, and scarcely founde any remayne oz token, that any such wozke had bene. In ẏ case (as it is euer vsed in things that chaunce euill) one layde the fault vpō an other, when in dede the violence of ẏ sea was the cause of all. Alexander began to make the Pere againe after a neiwe sozte, the heade therof lying into the wether and the wynde, and not the open syde as it dyd

before

before: So that the fore front alwayes defended the reſt of the worke lyng behynde. He encreaſed alſo the breath therof, to thintent the Towers might be buylded in the middes of the Pere, whereby they ſhoulde be leaſt ſubiect to the enemies ſho'. Whole trees were put into ỹ ſea with their toppes and braunches, & after great ſtones throwē vpon them. And ouer thoſe a newe courſe of trees and ſtone agayne, by whyche deuyce thys whole wooꝛke was ioyned and knitt al in one. As the Macedons were buſye to bꝛing their wooꝛke foꝛwardes, ſo the Tirians were as diligent to inuent al ſuch things, as might geue impediment to their pꝛoceding. Their chiefe pꝛactiſe was foꝛ a number of them to enter into ỹ ſea a farre of out of the Macedons ſyght, and ſo come dyuing vnder the water tyll they came vnto the Pere, where with hokes they would pull vnto them the bꝛaunches of the trees that appeared out of the ſtones, whereby the ſtones and the other ſubſtance folowed after into the deepe. Foꝛ the trees beyng diſcharged of their burden were eaſelye dꝛawen awaye, and then the foundacion fayling, the whole wooꝛke that ſtayed vpon the trees fell to ryne. Emongeſt theſe impedi-

pedimentes Alexander stoode in great perplexitie of mynde, doubtyng whether hee shoulde continue the siege still, or elles departe hys waye. When he was in thys ymaginacion, sodeynly his nauye arryued from *Cypres*, and Cleander also wyth such souldiours as hee hadde brought out of Greece. And hauyng to the number of Threscore. shippes, deuyded them into two battayles, whereof he committed the one vnto Pythagoras the kyng of *Cypres*, & to Craterus, and tooke charge of the other hymselfe, commyttyng his owen person in a Galey called Cinquereme, wherein had syue oares on a banke. The Tirians durst not aduenture the sea fyght although they had a great nauye, but set all their galeis in a front before ỹ walles of their citie, which ỹ king assailed & put to distres. The nert day ỹ Macedons wt their ships enuironed ỹ city round about, & did beate down the walles, specially wt such engins as they call Arietes. But the Tirians streight way renforced & made vp their walles agayne wyth stones that laye at hande, & raised vp an inwarde wall round about wythin the citie, wherein myght be their defence if the other fayled. But they? destruction approched on

every

ruery syde, the Mole was wrought wyn the cast of a darte, and the shippes gaue the approche round about the walles, so that they were ouerlayed both by Sea and by lande. The Macedons had deuysed to ioyne theyr galleys two and two together, in suche sort that the forepartes mette close before, and ȳ hinder partes laye farre of one from the other. And ouer the spaces remaynynge betwixt puppe and puppe, they made brydges wyth maistes and mayne yardes layde betwixt Galey and Galey faste bounde together to carie souldiours vpon. When they had put their galeis in this order, they sette forwardes towardes the Citie. And hauing rampired the prores for defence of the souldiers that were behynde, they stode in their Galleis and dyd shoote and caste dartes against their enemies without anye perill or daunger to themselues. It was mydnight when they had commaundement to set forwardes after the manner. As the shyppes were approching on al partes, and the Tirians stoode astonied for feare and desperation: sodainlye the skye was ouerwhelmed wyth dymme clowdes, and sodain darknes tooke awaye the lyghte. Then the Sea by lyttle and lyttle waxed terryble and rough,

the

the wynde blewe rayſyng vp the wawes, & dyd beate the ſhyppes one agaynſte an other: the vyolence whereof burſt a ſunder the bandes and graſpers wherewyth the galyes were faſtened togethers. Whyche done the bzidges craſhed and flewe aſonder, and with the ſouldiers that ſtoode vpō them fell into the Sea. There was greate confuſion, foz the ſhippes entanglyd thus together, coulde by no meanes be gouerned in ſuche a tempeſt, the ſouldiers diſturbing the feate of the mariners, and the mariners geuing impediment to the office of the ſouldiers. Thus (as it doth often happē in ſuch caſe) the expert were obedient to the ignoraunt, foz the ſhyp maſters that were wont to commaunde: then foz feare of death were directed by other: But at length by foꝛce of rowyng the Galeys recouered the ſhoꝛe, the moꝛe parte of them being bꝛoken and tozen. It chaunſed at ẏ ſame tyme rrr. Embaſſadours to come frō Carthage to Tyꝛe, who gaue moꝛe comfoꝛt then aſſiſtaunce to them that were beſieged. Foz they ſhewed howe the Carthagens were ſo aſſailed wō warre at their owne dozes, that they could by no meanes ſende them ſuccour. In ſo muche as the Syraculans were burnynge

in

in *Aphrike*, and had encamped themselues vnder the verye walles of *Carthage*. The Tyrians yet were not discomfited, for all that they were disappointed of their special truste, but deliuered vnto these Embassadours their wyues and their children to carie vnto *Carthage*, thinking to endure more stoutely the siege, if the thinges which were most deare vnto them were remoued out of daunger. There was a Tyrian whiche in an open assemblye declared that Appollo (whom the Tyrians greatlye do worship) had appeared to hym in his slepe, semíng to hym that he hadde forsaken the Cytie, and transformed the Mole that the Macedons hadde made into a great woode. Hereupon thoughe the author were of small creditte, yet forasmuch as men in feare be apt to beleeue the worste, they tied faste Apollos Image with a golden cheine, and bound fast also the aulter of Hercules (to whom the Cytie was dedicate) thinking by deteining of the one, to kepe still the other. The Carthagens in times paste had brought that Image from *Siracuse*, and hadde placed yt in the hedde Cytie, oute of the whyche they were descended. For theyre custome was to adourne *Tire* wyth suche spoyles as they

hadde

had taken, no lesse then they dyd *Carthage* it selfe. They at ỳ time woulde also haue bene auctours vnto the Tirians for the renuing of an olde sacrifyce that had beene omytted manye yeares, wherein they vsed to offre vp to *Saturne* a free borne chylde. Which beynge rather a sacrilege then a sacrifyce, the Carthagens receiued of their first founders, and styll obserued the same, till theire Citie was destroyed. And but the auncient men by whome all thinges were gouerned had withstande it, thys wicked superstition had taken place, whiche nature and humanitie doth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanginge ouer theire heades, beinge more effectuall then anye arte or science, practised not onlye such thinges as were accustomed for defences, but also founde out that was neuer inuented before. For to the distourbaunce of the shyppes that approched the walles, they deuysed longe rafters, to the whych they fastened graspies of Iron and greate hookes lyke Sithes, which letten downe wythe ropes by an engyne, eyther tare shyppes or destroyed the men. They inuented also Targettes of mettall to be made fyre hote, in the whyche they putte burnynge sande, and scaldynge lime, & then

poured

poured the same down vpon the Macedõs that came neare the Walles, being a mischiefe that they feared most of al other. For when the whote sande entred betwene the harneis and the body, there was no meanes to auoyde it awaye: and where it touched it burned to the bones, so that they were enforced to throwe awaye their harneys, and teare awaye all thinges they hadde vppon their bodyes. Therby they became subiect to bee hurte by their enemyes, and were not in case to endomage them agayn. But specially the grasplers letten downe (called Corui) tooke violently awaye many of the souldiers that were within the shippes. Alexander seing the obstinate defence of ỹ Tyrians, was wery of the matter, and determined to rayse his siege, & go vnto *Egipt*. For considering in howe short a space hee had subdued *Asia*, it greued hym to bee deteyned so long about the Walles of one Citie, whereby he omitted the occasion and opportunitie of greater things in the meane season. But he was asmuche ashamed to departe wythout hys purpose, as to remayne there and leaue other thinges vndone: iudging that if he shoulde leaue *Tyre* after that sorte, as a wytnesse that he myght

be

be withstand, it should muche impaire hys fame, wherwith hee had gotten more then with force. And it chaũced at the same time a mõster of an exceding bygnes to appeare aswel in the sight of the Tyrians as ẏ Macedons, which lying vppon his back aboue the water came towardes the Mole, & whẽ he had lifted vp him selfe at the head of the Mole, diued vnder the water againe, some tyme appearing aboue & sometime hydyng himselfe vnderneath, when he came neare the walles of ẏ Citie vanyshed out of sight. The sighte of this monstre reioysed bothe parties, the Macedons enterpreting ẏ same to be sent them as a guide for their direction to furnishe out the woorke, & the Tyrians diuinyng that *Neptune* in reuengyng the vsurpacion that the Macedõs had made vpon the Sea would shortly destroy ẏ woorke that they had made, in such lyke sort as hee had taken away the monstre. They vppon their owne imaginacion, conceiued suche a gladnes, & prognosticated to thẽselues such good fortune, that they fell to banquetyng & drynking. And when they weare wel charged with wine, at the sonne rising theye set garlandes of flowers vpon their headds, & mounted into Galleis, not onely w̃ hope of

victory, but w̄ a triūphe made before hand. It chaunced at the same time that Alexāder had conueyed his nauie to the contrary side of the Citie, & left vpon the shore. xxx. of the smallest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught two, and put the rest in daunger of distressyng, vntill such time as the king hearing the alarme, set forwards w̄ his nauy towardes that parte where the skrye was heard. The first Galley of the Macedons ẏ came neere them was a quinquereme, the swiftest of al ẏ rest, which whē ẏ Tyrians espied, they came against her w̄ two Galleis crosse vpō her side: wherof ẏ one strake full with her Spurne with whom the cynquereme grasped and ẏ other which was loose and at libertie fell vpon her contrary side. But lest betwene them two she might sustayne some domage, one of Alexanders Tyremes came to the rescue with such violence, that the master of the lose Galleye was striken into the sea. Whē the Tyrians saw that Alexander was come him selfe, & more of his ships at hād, thē w̄ strength of oares & gret difficulty, they set their Galley ẏ was stāgled lose again & at liberty, makig towards their hauen with al the haste they might. Alexander immediatly pursued thē, but when hee came to the hauen he coulde

not

not enter, but was beaten of with shotte from the walles: yet he did take and drown the more parte of theire Galleis. After this aduenture hee rested hys souldioures two daies, & then willed his ships to be brought forwardes and the engines in them, to the entent that by assaylyng the Tirians on al sides, hee might put them in extreme feare. Alexander with a wonderfull courage not without great perill of hys persone mounted vppe into the toppe of a tower that was made in a shippe, and there knowen by his apparaile and ryche armoure, was chiefly layde at, and shotte to from all partes. Hee wrought wonderfull feates with his owne persone, for bothe with his pike he slew diuers that stode at defence, and afterwardes fought hande to hande with his sword and his targette throwyng diuers downe from theire defence, for the tower wherein hee fought ioyned harde to the walles. By that time the engines called Arietes with much beatyng had striken downe the walles, the naule was gote within the hauen, and certain of the Macedõs had wonne ỹ towers. The Tyrians then oppressed with so many miseries at once were clean discomfited: Some fled for succour vnto the temples, sõe

did shut their doores, taking ỹ kind of deth theye lyked best. And other ran vpon theire enemies to sell their liues deere. But the more part got vp into the tops of their houses, & from thence did cast downe vpō their enemies whatsoeuer came vnto their handes. Alexander commaunded al to be slaine without exception, sauing suche as fled into the temples, & willed the houses to be set on fyer. Thoughe that were proclaymed thorough the Citie, yet there was none bering armour that woulde saue them selues that way. For as the weomen and childzen fyled the temples, so the men kept the entries of their houses, readye to abide the crueltye of their enemies. Yet the Sidonians weare the occasion ỹ many weare saued, who seruing in the warres amongst the Macedōs & entering the Cityẽ the rest, were mindfull of their affinitie with the Tyrians (Agenor being builder of both their Cyties) & conueyed many into their shippes, whyche they sent priuily vnto *Sydon*. By ỹ meanes fiftene thousand escaped the crueltye of the swoorde. The numbre of them ỹ were slaine may partly be cōiectured, in that ther were found dead within the Citie fire thousande of suche as bare armour. The kings wrath

towardes

towards the Citie made the sight dolorous vnto the victorers. For twoo thousande whom the fury of the slaughter had left on lyue, were afterwardes hanged vpon crosses along the sea coast. The Embassadors of the Carthagens weare saued, but theye threetned to make warre against them, frō the which he was then letted by other busynes he had in hande. Thus *Tyre* was takē the. vij. moneth after it was besieged, a city notable to the posteritie, aswell thorough the antiquitie it was of, as also by the often chaunge of fortune that it had suffred. It was builded by Agenor, and many yeares was master of the seas, not onely nere ther about, but in all places where as their navies came. And if we list to credit the fame, that City was the first which either taught or learned letters. Theye builded Cities & put in them inhabiters through out ꝯ more parts of the world, both *Carthago* in *Afryke*, *Thebes* in *Boecia*, and *Gades* in *Spayne* vpon the Occean. It is to be thought that by reason of their frecourse through all seas, and by visiting many straunge countreis, theye had occasion to choose oute Seates to place in their youth, wherof they then haboūded. Orels as some write the inhabitours we-

ried to dwel ther by reason of many earth-
quakes, were compelled of force to seke out
straunge dwellyng places. But after many
casualtyes that happened vnto *Tyre*, after
the destruction newly renewed, & al thyngs
growen againe through long peace, remai-
neth nowe vnder the defence of the Romai-
nes Clemency. About the same time Alexā-
der receiued letters from Darius, wherein
at last hee was cōtented to name him king.
Hys request was that Alexander woulde receiue
hys daughter Sapteyne for hys wyfe, with whō
hee offred in dower all the countreye betweene
Hellespont and the ryuer of *Alys*, and woulde reserue
vnto him selfe onely suche kyngdomes as lay from
thence, Eastward. And yf peraduenture he should
stycke to receiue this offre, he willed him to con-
sider that fortune is not wont to contynue long in
one estate, and that the greater felicitie men haue,
the greater enuy doth followe them. It was to be
doubted (hee sayde) least he exalted hym selfe tho-
rough some vayne and childy the affection, lyke as
byrdes vse to doe, whose naturall lightnes conuey
them to the starres. For there was nothyng more
difficult in so younge yeares, thenne to beare well
suche heyghte and greatnes of fortune. He wyl-
led hym also to consider that there remayned yet
many countreys that he had not touched, and that
hee shoulde not alwaies meete him in streights, ha-
uyng to passe the Ryuer of *Euphrates*, *Tygre*, *Araxes*,
and *Hydaspes*, whyche weare as bulwarkes vnto
hys dominyon, and when hee shoulde come vnto
the playnes he shoulde bee ashamed of hys smalle
numbre. Hee put hym in remembraunce to wreye

howe

how long it shoulde bee or hee coulde passe *Medea*. *Hircania*, *Bactria*, and the *Indians* that bordered on the Occean Sea. And likewise the Sogdiãs and Arachosians of whom men haue none other knowelege thenne of theire name, with other nacyons lying towardes the mount *Caucasus*, and the Ryuer of *Tanais*. Thoughe noe manne shoulde lette hym nor offer hym battayle, yet hee shoulde growe in age (hee sayde) before hee coulde passe so many landes. In the latter ende, hee aduysed hym to call hym no more forwardes, for hee woulde come soone inoughe, and that to hys destructyon.

Alerãder made aunswer to those letters by ỹ messẽgers that brought thẽ, in effect: that Darius offred to hym that was none of his owne, and made a profer to geeue that hee hadde all readye lost. For *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Acolides*, and the coast of *Hellespont*, whyche hee appointed in dower, were all readye become the rewardes of hys byctorye. And as for lawes and condicions, those weare wonte to bee geeuen and appoynted by the byctours, and receyued of suche as weare ouercome. And yf he weare ignoraunt in whych of those two estates hee weare in, that hee shoulde come of, and aduenture the battayle once agayne. For hee was not ignoraunt (hee sayde) before hee passed the Sea, howe *Lydia*, and *Cilicia* weare ouer small rewardes, for the makyng of suche a warre. But his determinacion was euer to subdue & bring vnder his subiection both *Percepolis* the chiefe citye of his kingdome, & also *Bactria*, & *Echatania* yᵉ vtter most bounds of the Orient. He could flye no wher but hee was able to followe: and therefore counsayled him that he should leaue to feare hym wyth Ryuers, which had learned howe to passe Seas.

Thus the kings did write one to an other: and in the meane season the Rhodians yelded their city & their hauen vnto Alexander, who committed the rule of *Cilicia* vnto Socrates, & the coūtrey about *Tyre* vnto Philotas: Andromachus was made Parmenio his deputy in *Caele Syria*, from whence Alexander mindyng to set forwardes to the rest of his iourneye, commaunded Ephestion ỹ with his nauy he should saile along ỹ coast of *Phenices*, and so hee came with hys whole power to the Citie of *Gaza*. About the same time there were solempne triumphes and plaies at *Isthmos*, accustomed to be celebrated with the assēbly of all Greece. In ỹ coūsell (as the wits of the Greekes be sodayne) they decreeed to sēd.rij. Embassadors vnto Alexander for ỹ carying vnto him a crown of gold in gratifiyng the victorye hee hadde wonne, and the actes he hadde done for the sauegarde & liberties of Greece, & yet a litle before they harkened how the fame went, & were ready to bend that way that fortune enclined. Alexander visited not in person al such countreis & cities as refused to do their obedience vnto hym, but made conquest of thē by his deputies. For Cales toke *Paphlagonia*, Antigon⁹ *Liconia*, & Balachrus ouercame

came Idarne Darius lieutenant, & wanne *Miletum*. Amphitous & Egilochus with a nauy of a C. and. lx. shippes subdued all the Ilandes betweene *Asia*, & *Achaia*. And also by the consent of the inhabiters gote *Tenedon*, whiche alwaies was acceptable to the Persians. They were at the poynt to haue gotten *Scio*, but that Pharnabasus Darius deputie hauing intelligence of the matter, did first apprehend al suche as weare of the Macedons faction, and committed the City with a smal guarrison to Appolodines and Athenagoras ỹ were ẽclyned to ỹ Persiãs. Alexãders capitaines for al this continued ỹ siege of ỹ citie still, not so much in trust of their owne strength, as in hope of the faction they had within the Citie. In whyche point they were not deceyued. For through a sedicion which did arise betweene Appollodines and the captaines of the men of war, occasiõ was ministred vnto the Macedons to entre the towne. When ỹ gate was broken vp, & a band of Macedons entred, then the Citizens which before had deuised to rebell against the Persians, toke parte wyth Amphiterus & Egilocus, so that the guarrison of the Persians were slaine, and Pharnabasus with Appollodines and Anthenagoras

gozas taken pꝛiſoners. There were.xlv. gal leis taken with their ſouldiours & rowers, beſides.xxx. ſhippes & veſſels of Pirates, wꝭ three thouſand Grekes ẏ were in wages wꝭ the Perſians, wyth whom ẏ Greekes furniſhed vp their owyn bãos & put the Pirats to deth, beſtowing ẏ rowers in their owyn galleis. It chaũced ẏ Ariſtonicus ẏ vſurper of *Methyma* ignorãt of any ſuch matter as was chaũced in ẏ forepart of ẏ night, cãe wꝭ certaine Pirates ſhippes to enter into the hauen, whõ when the watch demaũded what he was, he ſaid: he was Ariſtonicus, & came to the ſuccour of Pharnabaſus. They anſwered he was at reſt & could not thẽ be ſpoken withal, but it ſhould be lawful for him (they ſaid) being their frend to enter into ẏ hauen for ẏ night, & ſpeke with him when it was day. Ariſtonicus was the firſt ẏ ẽtred, & the Pirates followed hym. But whyles they placed theire ſhippes, the watchemen drewe the chayne agayne ouer the hauen, and then called vp ſuche as laye there neere about, ſo that none of them durſt reſiſt, but were all taken pꝛiſoners, and ſo deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilocus. From thẽce the Macedons palled to *Mytelene*, whyche was kepte by Chares of Athens, wyth a guar-

guarrison of two thousande Persians: but when he was not able to endure the siege, hee yelded vppe the Citie wyth composicyon to haue theire lyues saued, and to depart in sauegarde vnto *Imbros*. Daryus dyspayryng of peace, whyche hee hadde procured bothe by hys letters, and Emballadoures, gaue hys mynde to assemble a newe power, and freshely to renue the war. Therfore hee commaunded the Captaynes and rulers of hys menne to assemble at *Babilon*, and that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, shoulde come thither wyth all power hee coulde make. The Bactrians bee the most hardyest people amongst those nacions vnciuil men, and much abhorring from the delicatenes of the Persians. For by reason that they border vpon the Scithians, which bee a warlyke nacion, they are accustomed to lyue by theft, and be conuersaunt contynually in armes. But Bessus that was suspecte of treason that hee woulde not be contente wyth the seconde place, put Daryus in greate doubt: Whoe hauyng an inkling that hee aspyred to bee kyng, feared onely hys treason, hauyng noe other waye to bryng hys purpose to passe. Alexander wrought all the wayes hee coulde to obteyne knowledge where Daryus was become,

become, & into what countrey he was gon. And yet could not get any intelligence, by reason of a custome amõgst the Persians, which are wont with a marueilous fidelity to kepe close their pryinces secretes: in the vttering wherof neyther feare of deathe, nor hope of reward can cause them bryng forth a word. This was a goodly discipline ỹ the kinges there had of olde time vsed amongst their subiects, in punishing with losse of life the lauesnes of ỹ toung, which is ther more greuously chastised then any other cryme. Nor ther is not in those parts any goodnes loked for at any mans hands, that hath not the gift of secretnes, wherof nature hath geuen a facilitie in man. This was the cause that Alexander was ignoraunt of al things ỹ his enemies did, & therefore continued his siege before *Gaza*. Betis was capitain ther, who was a mã of a notable fidelitie towardes hys prynce, whyche with a small guarrison defended the citie that was of a large compasse. Wherfore Alexander perceiuing the aduauntage of the Situation, set many mynes in hande. For the lyghtnes of the grounde made the worke easy, hauing neither rockes nor stones to geeue anye impediment. They beganne their mines on that

side

syde, where they wᵒn could not destroy thē. And to auoide the suspection of anye suche woorke in hande, caused an approche to bes made to the walles wyth towers that hee had made of tymbre. But ẏ ground would not serue for their carying and remouyng, by reason of the losenes of the sande, wherinto the wheles sanke, and was the cause ẏ the ioyntes of the towers brake a sunder. About the conueyaunce of them manye were hurt, and as muche trouble theye had in wᵒdrawyng of them, as in setting them forwardes. When hee perceyued hee coulde not preuayle by that meanes, hee retired againe hys men for that time. But the nexte daye he enuironed the citie round aboute to geeue the assaulte in euerye parte at once, and before he returned oute of his campe, made sacrifice after hys countrey maner, requyring the ayde of the Goddes. It chaunced as he was so doing, that a Rauen flying by, let fall a clodde (whiche shee caryed in her clawes) vpon the kinges head, where it brake and resolued in pieces. And the Rauen flew vnto the next tower, wher her feathers were so entangled with pitche at her lyting, that shee coulde not flye away, but was taken of the standers there aboutes.

Thys

This was thought a matter worthy wher-
upon the diuiners shoulde consulte. For he
hym selfe was not free from the superstiti-
on of suche thinges. Therefore Aristander
to whom he gaue moste credite, did inter-
pret the same to be a signe of the destruction
of that citie, but yet there was som peril (he
saide) appearing towardes the kinges per-
son: For whiche cause he perswaded Alex-
andre that he shoulde not go about any en-
terprise that day. Though yt greeued hym
muche that one citye shoulde be a staye and
impediment vnto hym for his free passage
into Egipt, yet he obeied ỹ pronosticators &
caused all his men to retyre. The enemyes
toke courage of their departure, thinkinge
feare to haue bene the cause why they came
not forwardes, sayled out of the Citie and
sette vpon their tayle. But they were more
fierce in the beginninge of the skirmish, thē
constant in the maintenininge of the same.
For when they sawe the Macedons turne
about, they stayed and pursued no further.
Alexander hearing the alarm, and remem-
bringe nothing the perill that was prophe-
cied vnto him, at his frendes request put on
his harneis (which he was seldom accusto-
med to doe) & resorted thether where ỹ skir-

myshe

mich was most hote. Ther he was knowen by a certaine Arabian that was one of Darius souldiours, which toke vpon him a desperate enterprise to kyll Alexander, & therefore making his pretence to be as a fugitiue from the Persians, kept his swoorde secrete vnderneth hys targette, and fell downe on hys knees before hym. Who iudginge that he had fled to him for succour, willed him to be receyued amonges his owne men. But the Arabian therewithal strake at the king with his swoorde, whiche he by a little stepping aside, auoided from his throte, and cut of ỹ Arabiãs hand that missed of his stroke. Alexander then iudged that he had cleane escaped the perill that should haue chanced to him that daye, but (as I thinke) destinye can not be auoided: for whiles he was eger to fight amonges the formoste, he was stryken with an arrowe, which passed through his Corselet, and dyd sticke in his shoulder. Phillip his Phisition did plucke yt out, and great aboũdance of bloud did folow, wherof euerye man was afraide, for so muche as they neuer sawe an arrowe passe so farre throughe anye armoure before. But he neuer chaunged countenaunce nor colour, but causynge the blonde to be stanched and

hys

and his wounde to be wrapt vp, continued stil in the skirmishe amongest the formoste, eyther suffering or dissemblinge hys payne and dolour. But when the bloud that was staied for the time braste out againe and the wound which for the newnes greeued him not much, beganne to swelle and rancle as the bloude wared colde, then he beganne to faynte and fall downe, and was taken vp by suche as were nert hym, and caried into hys tent. Betis that perceiued this, supposing him to be slaine, retired vnto the Citie againe with great ioye and triumphe. But Aleranders wounde beinge yet vnhealed, he caused a mount to be caste vp as high as the toppe of the walles, and the walles to be caste downe in diuers places by the myners. But they within made a coũtermure as highe as the olde walle: yet that coulde not streche to ẏ height of the towres made vpon the mount, so that the inner partes of ẏ Citie were subiect to shotte. But a mine whereat the wall was ouerthrowen, and a breache made wherwith the Macedons did enter, was the vtter losse of ẏ towne where as Alexander pressing on amonges the formoste aduenturously, had hys legge hurte with a stone. That notwythstandynge, he

mounted

mounted vp by helpe of hys weapon (hys former wound yet closed) & fought amongst the foremost, being in a gret furye, that in the siege of that one citie, he had receiued twoo woũdes. Betis that had fought notablye, & receiued diuers hurtes, was forsakē of hys owne men, & yet notwithstanding maynetained still the fight, and had al hys armour embrued wt his owne bloud & his enemies. But when he was enclosed round aboute, then Alexander which was wont to wonder at the vertue of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pride, sayd vnto him: Betys thou shalt not die as thou wouldst thy self, but whatsoeuer torments may be inuented, thynke that thou shalt suffer them. For all his wordes there appeared in Betis no token of feare, but beholde the kyng with an arrogant countenance, and would not answer him one word. Then Alexander said: see you not how obstinate hee is to hold his peace: he would not kneele, nor once desire mercy. But groning shal breake his silēce, if nothing els can doe it. Thus his fortune alteryng hys nature, chaunged hym into straunge maners, and turued his wrath into woodnes. For he causing cords to be put through Betis feete whiles hee was alyue

did drawe him about the citie with horses, glorying in that he did counterfait Achilles (of whom hee was descended) in afflicting of his enemie. There were slaine of ẏ Persians & Arabians ten thousand, & the victorie was not vnbloudye to the Macedons. Thys siege was not so famous thorough ẏ nobilitie of the Citie, as it was by the double daunger the king was in: Whiche making haste to pas into *Egipt*, sent Amintas wᵗ ten Gallies into Macedon to leuye more souldiours. For thoughe hee were alwayes victorioure in prosperous battailes, yet his men were diminished, and he trusted not so muche to the souldiours of those countreys he had subdued, as he did to his owne nacīō. Egiptians be a people that alwaies weare offended with thencrease of good fortune of the Persians, who in their gouernement ouer them, vsed muche pryde & couetousnes. And therefore seking al occasions to reuolt, had receyued Amyntas, whiche came to thē rather by way of treatie then by any force: and now specially at Alexanders comming plucked vp their spirites & assembled a gret number to meete him at *Pelusium*, wheare they iudged he would entre. The seuenthe day he remoued from *Gaza*, he came to that

place

place in *Egipt*, which nowe is called Alexanders camp, from whence he sent his armye vnto *Pelusium* by the land way, and he himselfe with a choyse band of men was cõueied thither vpon the Riuer of *Nile*. The Persians durst not abide his comming, beeyng in doubt that the Egiptians would reuolt. And therfore when Alexander drewe nere vnto *Memphis*, where Astaces Darius lieutenant was with a power of men of warre, he came ouer the Riuer to meete Alexãder, and yelded him selfe, deliuered him. viij. C. talents, with al the riches belonging to the kyng of *Persie*. From *Memphis* he passed vpon the same Riuer vnto the inwarde partes of *Egipt*, and set a staye and order in the gouernement of the countrey in suche sort, that he chaunged nothing of theire lawes and customes. Which thing once broughte to passe, hee hadde a great desire to visit the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon. But it was declared vnto hym that the way hee had to go was not passable with anye great number, & ỹ those ought to be trimmed, meete to journeye wõut baggage or muche cartage. The coũtrey hee had to trauaile thorough was said to be spred ouer al w̃ barrein sãd,

which once put in an heate with the sunne, woulde burne their feete in such sorte, that it shoulde be intollerable for them to iourney. And had to contend not onely with the heate and want of water, but also with the rowlynge sande, whiche was so deepe, and woulde so synke vnder theire feete, that yt should be great impediment vnto their trauaile. All which difficulties the Egiptians sette fourth to be greater then they were in deede. But Alexander for the desyre he had to exceede mans estate, was so feruently bent to visyte that famous Oracle of Iupiter, whom either he beleued, or coueted that other shoulde beleeue to be his father, that nothinge coulde staye hym in performinge of that enterprise. Therefore wyth suche as he had appointed to accompanye hym in ỹ iourneye, passed by water vppon *Nile* till hee came to the Weare of *Meotes*. The embassadours of the Cirenians came to hym thither and brought hym presentes, whom he gently entertained, assuring them of his frendeship. And that doone went forwards in his voyage. The fyrst & the second dayes trauaile seamed tolerable, not being yet cõe to the barrayne and wilde wildernes, and yet ỹ groũd they passed on was but vnfrut-

full

full and dead earth. But when the plaines appeared ẏ were couered ouer with deepe sand, they then looked and sought a far of with their eies for the land, euen as men be accustomed to do whē they saile in ẏ maine Sea. For they could not iudge them selues on land, where they neuer saw tree nor any appearaunce of habitacion or haunt of mē. And water there was none to be founde in that drye and burninge sande, and suche as they had brought with them in bottels vpō camelles backes, was consumed and spent. Besides, the sunne was so hotte that it dryed and burned vp all thinges. When they were afflicted after this maner, whether yt were by the wyll of god, or by chaunce, the clowdes sodenlye ouer whelmed the skye, & so shadowed them, that it was greate comfort to such as were forweried with ẏ heate, thoughe they wanted water to drink. But to supplye there lacke therin there fell by & by a great shoure, which euery mā (for the great desyre they had to drink) gaped to receyue with open mouth. When they hadde trauelled fowere daies in passinge of theise wilde desertes, and were come neere vnto the place of ẏ oracle, there appeared a great swarme of Crowes flyinge lowe before the

troupe, and when the hoaste marched softly, they sat downe vpon the grounde, & sometime flew forwards, as thei had ben guides to shew vnto tharmy the way. At lengthe theye came vnto the place consecrate vnto Jupiter, where as it was a wonder to see in the midst of so wilde a desert such a grounde so enuironed on al parts with high trees, defending the heat of the sunne, & such a nũber of springes running euery wher: which cause ỹ woods alwaies to loke greene. The ayer there al seasons of ỹ yere is like vnto ỹ spring time, holesome & temperate to lyue in. This countrey doth border with the Ethiopes towardes the East, and vppon the Arabies that they call *Troglodytes* vpon the South: whose countrey stretched to the red Sea. It confineth with other Ethiopes that her called Simnos. Towardes the North lieth a nation called *Nasamons*, who inhabiting vpon a flatte shore, be accustomed to liue on spoiles of the sea, & lye alwayes in a wayte vpon the coast to spoile such ships as sucker wrecke. The people whiche inhabite about the wood, bee called Ammonians, & dwel in cotages scattered abrode. The middest of their wood closed about with a triple wall, is vnto them as a Castle. In the firste

warde

ward is the Pallace of their auncient kynges, in the second their wiues, children and concubines were lodged, in which place the Oracle of Iupiter is also. And the third is appointed a place for ỹ mẽ of warre. Ther is also another wood hauing in the mydst a spring called the foũtaine of ỹ Sũne, which in the morning is luke warme, in the heate of the day it is colde, & in ỹ euening warme againe: so ỹ at midnight it is scalding hoat, & as it draweth towards day, it diminisheth his heat more and more: The same thyng ỹ is worshipped for *Iupiter*, hathe not the similitude of other Images that craftes men do make for goddes, but is verye like vnto the fashion of a Nauel, hauyng in the midst an Emeraude set about with perles. Whẽ any aunswer is required, the priestes carye the same in a shippe of golde, that hath manye plates of siluer hangyng on bothe sydes. The matrones and the virgins followe after syngyng a rude song after their countrey maner, wherby they beleue to obteyne of *Iupiter* to shewe his Oracle manifest and true. When Alexãder was come vnto ỹ place, ỹ eldest of the pryests which came to meete him saluted him by ỹ nãe of Iupiters sonne: for so (hee saide) his minde

was that he should be called. Whereuppon Alexander forgetting the state of his mortalitie, sayd: that he both did receiue and acknowledge the name. Then hee demaũded further, if thempire of ỹ whole world were appointed to him by destinie. Ther the prophet prepared before to flatery, aunswered: that the whole worlde shoulde come vnder his obeysaunce. After that hee demaunded whether all suche had suffered death ỹ murthered his father. The prieste aunswered, ỹ his father could not be harmed by the treasõ of any man, but he sayd: that all Phyllyps killers were put to death. And one thing he added more: that he should be inuincible til such time as he should depart to the godds. Thereupon Alexander made sacrifice, and both offred vnto the Idol, & gaue grete giftes vnto the prieftes. Yee lycensed also hys frendes that they might consult of the Oracle, for such things as they would demaũd. Yet they ẽquired no further: if it were Jupiter his wil, that they should worshipp their king with diuers honours. To them it was aunswered: that if they honored their prĩce being victorer as a god, it should be acceptable vnto Jupiter. If hee hadde with iudgement wayed the Oracle accordyng to the

veritie,

veritie, he should haue wel perceiued the vntrueth, that was therin: but whom fortune hath brought to beleue in her, shee maketh them manye times more desirous of glorye, then able to receiue it. Alexander not onlye suffered, but also commaunded him selfe to be called the sonne of Iupiter, and whyles he went about to encrease the fame of hys actes, he did corrupt & deface them thorough suche vaine titles. Whereby the Macedons accustomed to bee gouerned by kinges, but yet reseruing a greater shadow of lyberye then other naciõs, did withstand him more arrogantly in affecting of his immortality, then was either expedient for him or them: but these things shalbe declared in time conuenient: For now I will proceede in ỹ rest of his doings. When Alexãder was returned from *Hammon*, and come to the marishe of *Mareotes*, situate neare vnto the Isle of *Pharos*, viewed the nature of the place, and was at the first determined to build a Citie within the Islande. But afterwardes considering the Isle not to bee large inoughe, chose out the ground where *Alexandria* is now (called by the name of the builder) cõteining al that ground betwene the Meare and the sea, the which was in compasse as

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the walles went.lxxx.furlongs. When hee had taken ordre for buildyng of this Citye, leuing suche behinde him as he had appointed for the perfourmance thereof, departed vnto *Memphis*. He had a desire (not vnreasonable if it had ben in time conuenient) to haue visited both the inward partsof *Egipt*, & also *Ethiopia*. And the affection hee had to viewe antiquities, and the famous places of *Memnon* and *Tyron*, had neere drawen hym beyond the boundes of the Sunne. But the warres he had in hād being of muche more moment then any suche idle peregrinacion, gaue hym no tyme to fulfill hys phantasie. Therfore he appointed Aeschilus a Rodyan, and Peucestes a Macedon to ỹ gouernance of *Egipt*, assigning to thē.xiij.thousand souldiers for defence of the regiō, & gaue Polymen.xxx.Gallois to kepe the mouth of *Nile*. He made Appollonius ruler of that part of *Africk*, whych ioincth vnto *Fgipt*, & Cleomines receiuer of the tributs in both coūtreis. This newe City was sone replenished with a great multitude, for cōmaundement was geuen to all the Cities theraboutes, to send inhabiters vnto *Alexādria*. It is saidỹ whē the king according to the Macedōs custome vsed the ceremony of steapyng barly, at the

making

making of the walles, ẏ the birdes came · e
fed ther vpon: which being take of many for
an vnlucky toke: it was aũſwered by their
diuiners, ẏ there ſhould bee great reſorte of
ſtraũgers to ẏ City, & ẏ it ſhould geue no-
riſhment to many lãdes. As the king went
down the Riuer of *Nile*, Hector Parmenio
his ſonne deſirous to folow him, was drow
ned: for the veſſel ſonk ẏ caried him, beeyng
peſtred wᵗ ouer many mẽ. He ſtriued lõg wᵗ
ẏ ſtreme: but his garmẽts gaue impedimẽt
to his ſwimming, ſo ẏ his breath was nere gõ
before he could recouer ẏ ſhore wherfor wãt
of ſuccour he died. Whoſe vnfortunat chãce
Alexãder toke greuouſly, as one ẏ did beare
him ſpecial fauour, & therfore cauſed his bo-
dy to be honourablye buried. The deathe of
Andromachus lieutenaunt of *Siria*, whom
the Samarytans hadde burned, was en-
creaſe of Alexanders ſorowe, for the re-
uengement whereof hee made al the haſte
hee myghte, and at hys commyng into *Sa-
maria*, hadde the autours of the acte delyue-
red into hys handes, whom hee putte to
deathe, and then placed Memnon in An-
dromachus rowme. Hee delyuered into the
Methinians handes, Ariſtonicus, and Cri-
ſolaus, that had vſurped amongſt thẽ, whõ
theye

they after many greuous torments did hãg ouer their walles. That done he gaue audy ence to the Embassadours of the Athenes, the Rhodians, and the Sciotes. The Athenians did gratifye vnto him his victory, and required that such Greekes as were taken prisoners, might be restored to liberty. The Rhodians and the Sciotes demaunded assistaunce of some garrison: he graunted to them al their requestes, and restoring to the Mytelens al their pledges, encreased theire territory and dominion in respect of the fidelitie they shewed vnto him, and the moneye they had employed in the warres. Hee gaue honour also according to their deseruynges vnto the kings of *Cipres*, which reuolted frõ Darius vnto him, and had aided him wyth shippes at the siege of *Tyre*. Amphoter⁹ his Admiral had commission to driue the Persians out of the Isle of *Crete*, but specially ẏ he should ryd the seas of the pirates, whyth troubled and spoiled al the Islands, whiles these two princes conuerted theire powers one against another. When he had geeuen order to al these thinges, hee did dedycate to *Hercules* at *Tyre*, a great standyng peece of rrr. bowles of golde. That done hee set hys whole minde and care vpõ Darius, causing

it

it to be proclaimed that euery man shoulde set forwardes towards *Euphrates*. But Darius vnderstanding ỹ his enemie was gõne through *Egipt* into *Aphrick*, stode in doubte whether he should stay about *Mesopotamia*, or withdraw into the inward partes of his kingdome: iudging that he should be hable to worke with those farre nacions in bryngyng of them forwards to the warres, that his lieutenant should not be able to do. Yet when the same had published, and he vnderstode by assured aduertisment that Alexander was retourned out of *Egipt*, and fullye resolued to follow him with all his power into what countrey so euer he should go: he then gaue order that the force of all the far nacions shoulde drawe towardes *Babilon*, knowing the stoutnes of his enemy he had to matche withall. Thether resorted bothe Bactrians, Scithians, and Indians: for the power of other countreis were come thither before. And hauyng the double number of men that hee had before in *Cilicia*, prepared armoure for them with diligence, whereof many of them had want. Both the horsemẽ & the horses were armed wt plates of steele. Suche as before had noe weapons but dartes, had swordes and bucklers geuen to thẽ

more.

more. And to encrease ỳ power of his horsemẽ, he deliuered many horses to be broken amõgst ỳ footemẽ. He had ꝓpared also. CC wagons set with hookes, whiche in those countreis were estemed thinges of greate force, & iudged to be of a wonderful terrour to the enemy: they were made w̃ great lõg pikes sticking out before, & with swordes set ouerthwart on both sides. The wheles were also full of Irõ pikes right forthe, and of great hookes both vpward & downward wherwith al thing was cut a sider ỳ came in their waye. When his people was thus furnished of armour & had prouided sufficyently for the wars, he remoued from *Babilon*, & keping ỳ Riuer of *Tygre* on his right hande, & *Euphrates* on his lefte hande, ouerspred with his army al the plaines of *Mesopotamia*. After that he passed *Tigre*, & vnderstanding that his enemy was commyng at hand, first sent Satropaces before with a thousãd chosen horsemen, and afterwardes appointed fire thousande to Mazeus to stop Alexander the passage of the Ryuer. Who had also in commyssion to waste and burne al ỳ coũtrey wher he iudged ỳ hys enemies shoulde cõe, thinking to famish thẽ for wãt of victuals, considering ỳ they had no other

prouision

prouision but such as they got by rauin, & by stealthe: theye them selues hauing plentye brought bothe by lande and by the Ryuer of *Tygre*. At lengthe hee came to a village called *Arbella*, whyche was afterwardes famous by reason of hys ouerthrow. There hee lefte the chiefe furniture of hys victualles, and caryage, and made a bridge ouer the Ryuer of *Licus*, and in fyue dayes conueyed ouer hys armye, as hee hadde done before ouer *Euphrates:* passing forwardes from thence aboute fower score furlonges: He came to another Riuer called *Bumello*, and there encamped. The countrey serued wonderful wel for the arrangynge of hys battailes in the large playnes, passable for horses euerye where, and wythoute stubbes, or shorte brushe to couer the grounde wythall, hauyng so free a prospecte, that the eye myghte discerne thynges a greate waye of. And if there appeared anye hylles within the playne, Darius caused the same to bee caste downe, and the ground to bee made smoothe. Suche as by conjecture made report to Alexãder of Darius power, could not be credited, for he could not think after so many slaine ther could be a greater

power

powꝛ gathered together then hee had beꝛ
foꝛe. But he that neuer doubted any peryl,
& muche leſſe the multitude of men, after ẏ
eleuenth encamping, came to the Ryuer of
Euphrates, ouer the which he made bꝛidges,
paſſing ouer his hoꝛſemen, and afterwards
his foꝛtemen. Foꝛ Mazeus that was ſent a-
gainſt him with fiꝛe thouſand hoꝛſemen to
let his paſſage, durſt not encounter wͭ him.
When he had continued there a fewe dais,
not onelye to reſt his ſouldiours, but alſo to
confiꝛme theiꝛe mindes, and to encourage
them, he ſet foꝛwardes ſtoutly againſt hys
enemy, fearyng that they would haue reti-
red backe into the inward partes of *Perſie*,
whether he ſhoulde haue beene enfoꝛced to
follow by waſte places and deſerts. Theꝛ-
foꝛe the foꝛwerth day he paſſed by *Arbella*,
and came to the Riuer of *Tigre*. All the coun-
treꝛ beyond the riuer was on a ſmoke newe
lye ſet on fyeꝛ by Mazeus, who burned all
thinges where he came euen as he had ben
an enemy. Alexander at the firſt by reaſon
of the darknes of the ſmoke, ſtayed foꝛ feare
of embuſhments. But when theye whyche
were ſent to ſcoure the countreꝛ repoꝛted ẏ
all thing was cleare, hee appointed a fewe
hoꝛſemē to pꝛoue the paſſage of the Riuer,

who

who founde the deapenes at the fyrſte entrie to come to the horſe breſte, and in the myddes of the ſtreame to the horſe neckes. There is no riuer in all the eaſte parte of ỹ worlde, that runneth ſo vyolently, whyche beſydes the waters of other ryuers that do runne into it, driueth downe ſtones wyth the ſtreame, ſo that of his ſwiftnes it is called *Tygre*, whiche in the Perſian tongue is ſo muche to ſaye as an arrowe. The fotemen therefore deuyded into two bandes, holdyng their armour ouer their heades, were encloſed on both ſydes wyth the horſemen, and ſo paſſed till they came in ỹ deape of the chanell, without any great difficultye. The king was the fyrſte emonges the footemenne that paſſed ouer to the further ſyde, who wyth his hande (ſeyng his voice coulde not be hearde) ſhewed the ſhallowe places vnto the ſouldiours. But they hadd muche payne to kepe their footing by reaſon of ſtones, whereupon they ſtumbled, & of the vyolence of the water that toke their feete awaye. Such as caryed burthens on their backes had the greateſt trauail, which not being able to ſtaye them ſelues by reaſon of ỹ trouble of their cariage, were borne downe by vyolence of the ſtreame. And

whyles euerye man went about to recouer againe his owne, there fell greater strife emongs themselues, then they had with the streame. And the heapes of fardels ỹ fleted euery where vpō the water bare down many. The king cryed to them that it was sufficient to kepe their armour, and let the rest goe, promisyng to recompence euerye man. But they neither followed hys counsaile, nor did as he commaunded them. For besides the noyse that was emonges them, feare filled their eares as they were swimming & wading through ỹ water. At lēgth where the streame was most shalowe they came forth, there being nothing miscaryed or wantinge emonges them all, sauyng a fewe fardels. If their enemies had made but a proffer against them, they might easely haue bene put to distresse. But Alexanders continuall good fortune turned then his enemies away from him. With which fortune he passed the riuer of *Granike* when so many thousandes both of horsemen and footemen kepte the passage againste hym. After that sort he ouercame the multitude of his enemies in the streites of *Cilicia*. Though his boldnes were such, ỹ it sometime wanted praise, yet his felicitie euer de-

liuered

liuered him out of all extreame perill. If Mazeus had donc his parte, & sett vpon thē as they were passing the Ryuer, he myght easely haue put them to distresse, being vnarmed & out of order. But after the Macedons had armed them selues (being then tolate) he began to shew him selfe with a M. horsemen. When Alexander perceiued the small nōber that came against him, he caused Ariston captaine of the Peonians to geue a full charge vpon them. The horsemē that day notably behaued themselues, but in especial Ariston, which wt his speare ran Satropases ye chief captaine through ye throte, & pursuing him into ye middes of his troup, threwe him from his horse, & cutt of his head, which to his great cōmendacion, he brought & threwe down before the king. Alexander taried there two days, & against the morning caused warning to bee geuen by proclamacion for his setting forwardes. But in ye first watche of ye night, the Moone suffred Eclips, which losing her brightnes, afterwardes became as redd as bloud, and therewith wared dimme and darke. The strangenes of this matter did strike a religious feare emonges the Macedons, wherof proceded suche a doubt & dread, that they

fel into a murmure and grudging that they ſhoulde be brought forwardes after ſuch a manner againſt the will of the Goddes, into the vttermoſt boũdes of the earth, where as they were not hable to paſſe the Riuers, nor coulde not enioye the accuſtomed vſe of the elementes, fyndinge nothing but waſte groundes and wylde deſertes: all whyche was done (they ſaid) for the ambicion of one man, for whoſe vaine glory the bloude of ſo many thouſandes ſhoulde be ſhed. He deſpyſeth (quod they) his countrey, he hath forſaken Philip for his father, & affected heaue̅ in his fooliſhe imaginacion. When Alexãder perceiued the matter to come to a muttering, he that in all thinges was without feare, commaunded the chiefe rulers and capitaines of his men of warre to aſſemble at his pauilion, and there commaunded the Aſtronomers of the Egiptians (whom he iudged to haue moſt vnderſtandinge of the Planets) to declare theire opinions. They vnderſtanding verie well the reuolutions of the time, and theire appointed courſes, knewe that the moone dyd euer eclypſe, when that either ſhe went vnderneathe the earth, or els when her light was blemiſhed by oppoſition of the ſunne, which reaſonne conceiued

conceiued amongs them selues, they accustomed not to teache the people. But affirmed that the Greekes were vnder the respect of the Sunne, and the Persians vnder the Moone: and therefore so often as the Moone faileth of her light, it signified great destruction to the nacions vnder that constellacion. And to confyrme that oppinion of theirs, they brought in olde presidents of the kinges of Perse, to whome the Eclypse of the Moone had signified, that the Goddes were against them in fyghting of their battailes. There is nothinge more effectuall then superstycion to gouerne a multytude, whiche otherwise is without rule, madde, & mutable. But when they haue once conceyued a religion, though it be but vayne: they be more obedient to theire diuyners, then to theire capitaines. Whiche thinge might be well perceiued, when the aunsweres of the Egiptians were spread abroade amonges the people. For they streighte wayes were remoued frō their dulnes, and dispaire, and sturred vp to hope and confidence. Alexander therefore that coulde vse the tyme, and employe his souldiours in their good mode: in the seconde watche remoued his campe, keppynge *Tige* on hys righte hande, and the

mountaines which they call *Gordeies* on his left hand. By the spring of the daye ỹ scourers that he sent before to discouer, retourned to him with reporte that Darius was cõming. Then the souldiers prepared thẽ selfes to the fyght, & marched forwardes in order of battaile. But those that discouered for the Persians, were but a M. horsemen, which keping the scout a farre of, seemed to the Macedons to bee a great armye. The scourers comonly haue that propertie, that when they cannot fynd out the trueth, they ymagin through feare things that be false. When Alexander vnderstoode the certeintie, he sent out towards them a small nomber of his own horsemen: at whose cõming they fledd, & were partlye slaine, & partlye taken prisoners. That done, he sent horsemen as well to discouer further, as also to quench the fyre whiche the Persians hadde made through all ỹ countrey. For as they fledd away, they put fyre into the rookes of their houses, & the stackes of corne, whiche soone toke holde aboue, and consumed all tyll it came to the grounde. By extinguishing of those fyers, greate plentie of corne was founde, and abundaunce of all other thinges ensued emonges the Macedons.

That

That was a matter which encouraged the souldiours greatly to pursue their enemies. For they doubting lest they should burne & consume all suche thinges as myght serue to their vse: pursued them with all ỹ speade they could make: wisdome growing of necessitie. For Mazeus whiche before did burne the countrey at leasure, whē he sawe him selfe pursued, fledd awaye, and left vnto the Macedons the more part vntouched. Alexander vnderstandynge that Darius drewe towardes him, & was come within an hundred & fyfty furlonges, made prouision of victuals, & remained fower daies in the same place. Darius letters were there intercepted, whiche he hadde written to the Greekes, in perswasion either to kyll or betray Alexander. Hee doubted whether he should receyte the same letters openly or no, hauyng no mistrust of their beneuolence & affection towardes him. But Parmenio disswaded the putting of any suche promyses into the souldiers heades, considerynge that the committing of suche an acte consisted in one mans hande, & that couetousnes iudged neuer any thing vnlawfull. He followed Parmenio his counsel, and so remoued hys campe. As they wer marching, one

of the Eunuches that attended vpõ Darius wife brought worde how shee fainted, and was in great perill of death. For she in very deede was so wearied wt continuall trauaile of her iourney & care of mynd, ỹ shee fell downe in a swowne betwixt her mother in law, & her yong daughter, & so dyed. Ye had not so sone tolde the tale, but another came with tydings that she was dead in deede: whereat Alexander was no lesse sorowfull, then if his own mother had bene in ỹ same case, & weping no lesse then Darius should haue done, repayred into ỹ tent where Darius mother was sitting by the dead bodye. There his sorowe renued whẽ he sawe her lye prostrate vpon the ground: who by the chaunce that presently fell, being put in remembraunce of her aduersitie bypast, embraced in his armes Darius ỹ. doughters, a comfort to her in their mutual dolour, but that shee was enforced to comfort them. Her young nephew stoode in her presence, the more to be pitied, because that for his youth, he yet vnderstoode not the calamitie that was growing towardes him. A man would haue iudged that Alexander had wept for his own cause, which lamented & would receyue no cõfort, but abstey-

ned

ned from meate, & reserued all honour to be done to the dead corps after ỹ countrey custome of ỹ Persians. Worthy he was therby to receiue the due rewarde of suche hys mekenes & continency. He had onely seene her once before, which was the daye of her taking, and then came not to visite her, but Darius mother. The excellẽcy of her beauty was no prouokement to him of lust but of glory. Of those Eunuches that were about the Queene, there was one Tiriotes, whiche during thys mourning & lamentacion, escaped by a gate that was vnwarded, & fled vnto the Persians campe, where he was by the watchemen brought to Darius presence. When Darius sawe him lamenting and tearing of his clothes, he was in a wonderfull expectacion what hys sorowe shoulde be, doubting what thyng hee might feare most. Thy countenance (quod he) declareth that some greate mischiefe is happened. Take heede thou concealest nothyng from my miserable eares. I haue learned to be vnfortunate, and it is often tymes a comforte of a mannes calamitie to knowe his mishap. Is it not the misusing of my wife and children that thou wouldest tell mee: which is the thing I suspect most

and

and feare to vtter, and (as I beliue) is more greuous vnto them then any kynde of torment. Nothing lesse (qd Tiriotes) The same honour that was geuen vnto them by your subiectes, the like is vsed by hym that is victorer. But your wife is the cause of my amazement, whiche is euen nowe dead. When that worde was once spoken, there was nothing but lamentacion and howling throughout the campe. And Darius coulde not bee otherwise perswaded but that shee was slayn, because she would not consent to her misusement, and in the vehemency of his sorowe, cryed out. O Alexander, what so great an offence haue I cōmitted against thee? whome of thy kynred haue I slayne, that thou shouldest requyte mee with thys crueltie? Thou hast done it without anye prouokement of my parte. But bee it so that thou doest moue a iust warre agaynst mee, yet, is it thy parte therefore to keepe warre wyth women? Tyriotes thereupon did sweare by ỹ Gods immortall, that there was no kynde of vyllany done vnto her, but that Alexander lamented her death, and wepte no lesse then hee him selfe woulde haue done. Those lordes did driue him into a further suspicion and iealosye, coniecturing that Alexanders behauiour therein, had risen vpon the familier conuersation had betwixt them.

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Therfore he auoyding all persons frō hym saiing only Tyriotes, and left his weping but yet sobbing for sorowe sayde vnto hym: Thou seest nowe Tyriotes, that lyes can take no place. Tormentes streightwaies shalbe brought before thee. I require thee therefore if any reuerence of thy prince remaine within thy harte, tell mee wythout compulsion ỹ thynge that I desyre to knowe and am ashamed to enquire. Is it possible being of the age that he is, and hauyng her in his handes, that he shoulde not attempt her? Tyriotes offered him selfe to be racked in tryall of the cause, and called the Gods to witnes, that shee was neuer vsed but chastly and reuerently. At length whē he was once perswaded ỹ his wordes were true, hee couered his face weeping a longe space, and afterwardes the teares yet distilling downe his cheekes, vncouered his face, & holding vp his handes to heauē said: O you Gods that I doe worship, I requyre you chiefly to establishe this kingdome vnto my selfe: But if ye haue determined my ruyne and decaye, then my request is that none may raigne as kinge in my Dominion, but euen he that is so iust an enemye, and so mercyfull a victorour. And therfore, though he had twyse before required peace at Alexander his handes & preuailed not, but had cōuerted al his mynd towards

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the warres: yet he was then so ouercome with the continency of his enemy, that hee sent ten of the chiefest of his bloud as Embassadours to treate with him vpon conditions of peace. Alexander calling a counsell gaue them presence, to whome the eldest spake in this wise. That Darius hath nowe the thyrd time demaunded peace of you, no power hath compelled him, but your iustice & continency hath moued him. He shoulde not perceiue that eyther his mother, wyfe or children were prisoners, sauing for want of their company, you taking care of their chastities whyche remayne on lyue lyke a father. You gyue to them the honour appertaynyng, and suffer them to continue in their former estate. I see that doloroulnes in your face, that I sawe in Darius when I parted from him, and yet he doth mourne for his wife, and you for your enemy. And if the care of her buryall had not ben, you had now stand in battaile in redynes to fyght. Is it any maruayle therefore if he require peace of suche one, that is so frendly disposed towardes hym? What shall they neede to contende with armes, betwene whome there remayneth no hatred. In his former treatise he offered that the Ryuer of *Alys* whych boundeth vpon *Lydia* shoulde be the confynes of your Empire: but nowe he profereth you in Doure wyth hys daughter to be deliuered out of hande all those countreys that lye betwene *Hellespont* and *Euphrates*. For the performaunce of whyche hys promise, and for the obseruyng of peace, Occhus his sonne, now in your possession shall be the pledge for hys parte. Hys request is to haue hys mother and hys two daughters restored vnto hym, for whyche three you shall receyue

ceyue .xxx. thousande Talentes. Except I knewe the moderacion that is in you, I woulde not bee so bolde to saye that thys is a tyme when you ought not onely to graunt peace, but also to seeke for it your selfe. Looke backe and beholde what a great thing you leaue behynde you, and forecast howe muche it is that you couet before you. Ouer great an Empyre is daungerous. And it is harde to holde that you be not able to receyue. Do you not see that those shippes whiche be of exceadyng greatnes, that they cannot well bee gouerned? Iudge that to bee the cause that Darius losse so muche, because that ouermuche is the occasion of muche losse. It is more facil to get many thinges then to keepe a fewe. Howe muche more easily do our handes catche then holde still? The verye death of Darius wyfe nowe doth shewe, that you haue not so great occasion to shewe mercy as you had before. The Embassadours were remoued vnto another place, and he debated in counsell his oppinion. It was long before any durst vtter what they thought, because they were vncerteine howe the king was enclyned. At length Parmenio spake and saied: My opinion was euer that the prisoners taken at *Damasco* should haue bene deliuered to such as woulde redeeme them, whereby a great summe of money myght haue bene made of them, whyche now remaining in captiuitie, pester the handes of many a man of seruyce. And now I thinke moste necessary of all, that you exchaunge for .xxx. talletes of Golde, this olde woman & the two yong damosels, whiche be but impedimentes and disturbance to you in your iourneis. Here is a ryche realme to be gotten by treaty wythout any hasard of bat-

taile

taſte. For there was neuer none before you (quod he) that was lorde of all the countrey in length & breadth lyng betwene *Iſter* and *Euphrates*. He willed him therfore rather to haue reſpect towardes *Macedonia*, then to looke forwardes towardes *Bactria* & the *Indians*. His wordes lyked not the kyng, & therfore ſo ſoone as Parmenio had made an ende of his tale, he made this aunſwere: And if I were Parmenio, I would rather deſire money then glory. But nowe ſeing I am Alexander, I am not in any doubt of pouertie, and haue conſideracion that I am a kyng, & no marchaunt. I haue nothyng whereof I wyll make ſale, and muche ieſſe ſell my fortune. If I were in mynde to deliuer the priſoners, it were muche better to geue them freely, then to raunſome them for money. Herevpon he called in the Embaſſadours, and anſwered them in this ſort Shewe you to Darius that geuyng of thankes is but waſt to a mannes enemye, and let him not thinke, that I haue had anye reſpect to his frendſhip in thoſe thinges that I haue doone of myne owne clemency and liberalitie. Nor let hym not impute the ſame in any wiſe towardes him ſelfe, but to the inclinacion of myne owne nature, and that I contende not againſte mennes calamities, but againſt the force of myne enemies. I vſe not to make warre wyth women and priſoners, for he muſt be armed, to whom I ſhall ſhewe my hatred. And though it were ſo in deede, that he ment good faith in his peace aſkyng, yet peraduenture I would aduyſe mee before I would conſent. But ſeing that at ſometyme he hath by his letters prouoked my ſouldiours to betray mee, & at other tymes ſturred vp my frendes with money to my deſtruction: I muſt purſue him to the vttermoſt.

not

not as a righteous enemye, but as one that worketh hys thinges by treason. If I shoulde accepte the condicions of peace that you do bryng, I shoulde acknowledge hym to be victorer, which liberally doth geue mee all that is behynde the ryuer of *Euphrates*, not consideryng in what place I speake nowe vnto you. Haue you forgotten that I am passed the ryuer of *Euphrates*, and encamped beyonde the boundes ye proffer mee in Mowze? driue mee from hence that I maye knowe the same to be yours, wherewyth ye woulde enfeoffe mee. Hee profereth mee hys doughter wyth no greater liberalitie, then he woulde do to one of his seruantes. Dothe he thinke to doe mee a pleasure in preferryng mee to be hys sonne in lawe before Mazeus? Go and shewe this to your kyng, that bothe the thing he hath lost, and that he hath yet in possession, shall bee vnto mee rewardes of the warre, whyche warre shall discusse the boundes of bothe our Empires, and by the fortune of the Batttaile wee shall fyght to morowe, appoynt to eche of vs our limittes. Let him knowe that I came not into *Asia* to receyue, but to geue. If hee woulde haue bene content to bee secounde person, and not coueted to bee equall wyth me, I would peraduenture haue graunted hys request: But as twoe Sunnes cannot shyne on the earth at once, so lykewyse two suche great kyngdomes can not bee at one tyme, wythout the subuersyon of the worlde. Therefore let hym eyther this daye yelde him selfe, or els prepare against the morowes fyght, nor let hym not perswade him selfe to haue other fortune, then he hath proued already. The Embassadours replyed: that seing he was resolued to procede w̄ warre, he did royally in ỹ he was plaine, & did not feede thē forth

with

with hope of peace. Theire requeſt was therefore that they might bee diſpatched to their Prince, to warne hym to prepare him ſelfe lykewiſe. When they retourned, they brought word that there was no way, but prepare for the fyght. Wherefore Darius ſent Mazeus out of hande with three thouſand horſemen to kepe the paſſages, wherby the Macedons ſhould paſſe. Whē Alexander had perfourmed the funeralles of Darius wyfe, leuing with a ſmall guaryſon all ſuche as were vnprofitable for the fyght, within the ſtrength of his campe, ſett forwards towardes his enemies. His footmen were deuyded into two battailes, empaled wyth horſemen on bothe ſides, & hys cariage went in the myddes. Hee ſent Pedinas with horſemen vpon the ſpurres, to diſcouer where Darius was: Who comming within the viewe of Mazeus, durſte not paſſe any further, but brought reporte that he coulde heare nothing but the noyſe of menne, and neiyng of horſes. Mazeus likewiſe diſcouered thē & returned backe to Darius, declaring that his enemies were cōming: Then Darius whoſe deſyre was to encounter with his enemies in ỹ plaine and open fieldes, commaunded his men to

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be armed, & deuyded them into two parts, wherof the one marched on the left hande, and the other on the right. In the battaile on ỹ left hande, a M. of the Bactrian horsmen had the first place, with the like nomber of Dahans, and iiij. M. Arachosians & Susians, after which band of horsmē there folowed. C. hooked wagons, and behynde them Bessus with an other band of viij. M. Bactrian horsmen & vj. M. Pallagets. The footemen of dyuers nacions came nexte in order of battaile, not mixed together, but eche countreimen by themselues. Ariobarzanes & Orybates had the gouernement of the Persians, Mardians and Sogdians. But their charge was deuyded, & Orsines that was come of the viij. Persians, & of the bloud of noble kyng Cirus had the rule of the whole. Other nacions folowed, whose names were scarcely knowen to their own company. Tradatus was the nexte, whyche hauyng also fiftye hooked wagons, placed a band of Caspian horsemen before them, and behynde them the Indians & other the inhabiters of the redd sea, rather names of men then good assistaunce. Thys square was empaled with fyfty wagons, vnto the which the Mercenary souldiers were ioy-

ned. After them folowed the men of Armenye the leſſe, then the Babilonians, and nert the Bellitans with ſuch as inhabit the *Coſſean* mountaines. The Gortuans came nert, which ſometime folowed the Medias out of *Euboia*: but at thoſe dayes degenerated from their coũtrey cuſtomes. The Phrigians, Cathonians, and Parthians, enclоſed the taile. This was the battaille on the left hand. In the battaile on the right hand were the people of the greater *Armeni*, the Caduſians, Capadoſians, Sirians, & Medians, who had fyfty hooked waggons. The ſumme of his whole armye was .xlv. M. horſemen, and CC. thouſande footemen. When they were placed in order of battaile, they marched forwards ten furlongs, and then were cõmaũded to ſtaye. Whiles the Perſians after that manner taried for theire enemies, there fell a ſodaine feare amonges the Macedons: wherof there appered no cauſe, & yet euery man was amaſed, & a ſecrete dread entered into theire hartes. The lightninge that fell out of the ayer beinge in the ſommer ſeaſon ſemed like fier, & ỹ flames ſodeinly apearinge, were thought to come from Darius campe. Ik Mazeus which was ſent to obſerue their comminge,

had

had set vpon them whiles they were in this feare, he might haue done them some notable domage. But he was slack to do his enterprise, and remained vpon the toppe of an hyll, contented that he was not assailed. Alexander perceiuinge the terrour that was come amonges his menne, made a signe for them to staye, and gaue order ẏ they should vnarme them selues, and refreshe their bodies: geuing them to vnderstand that there was no cause why they should so sodeinlye conceiue a feare, seinge their enemies were yet a good distaunce from them. At length, when he perceiued they had recouered their spirites, he exhorted them bothe to receyue courage, and to put on their armour. But yet he thought nothinge more expedient for the case present, then to fortifye his campe in the same place. The next daye Mazeus which had planted himselfe on a hygh hill, from whence he might behold his enemies cãpe, either for feare, or els because hys cõmission was but onely to discouer, returned againe vnto Darius. Upõ his departure ẏ Macedõs by ꝛ by toke ẏ hill wͦ he had forsakẽ, ẏ same beig of more strẽgth thẽ ẏ plain, where they remained before, from whence they myght beholde their enemyes campe.

And though the miſte whiche the moyſtye hilles did caſte forth, tooke not away clerely the vſe of the proſpect: yet it letted them to diſcerne ỹ diuiſion of their enemies battayles, & their order, the multitude of whõ ouerſpred the fieldes, and the noyſe of ſuch a nomber fylled their eares, thoughe they were farre of. Then Alexander began to reuolue in his heade, and debate with hym ſelfe, one whyle Parmenios oppinion, and another tyme his owne. For he was come ſo farre forth that he could not retyre except he were victorer, without the great deſtruction of hys armye. The multitude of hys enemyes moued him muche in reſpecte of hys ſmall number. Yet on the other parte, he remembred what greate actes he hadde done wyth them, and howe many nacions he had banquiſhed. So that hope ſurmounting his feare, he thought it moſte daunger of all to differ the battaile any lenger, leſt deſperacion myght growe emongeſt hys menne, and therefore diſſemblyng the matter, caused the mercenary horſemen and ỹ Peones to paſſe on before, and deuided his Phalanx (as it hath bene ſayde before) into two battayles, and empaled the ſame wt horſemen on bothe ſides. By that tyme

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the myste auoyded, and it began to ware cleare, the ozder of their enemys appearing manyfestlye. The Macedones then, whether it were of courage, oz foz that they were impacient to tary anye lenger, made suche a shoute as menne of warre vse whē they ioyne in battaile: the lyke was also made by the Persians. Then the woodes and valleis round abount, rebounded with the terrible sounde. The Macedons could not absteyne anye lenger, but woulde haue runne forwarde towardes their enemyes. But Alexander thought it better to fortifye hys campe vppon that hyll, and so commaunded it to bee entrenched about. Whyche woorke being spedely perfourmed, he entred into his tent, from whence he myght beholde the whole armye of hys enemyes hoste. Then the whole fashion & fourme of the daunger that was at hande, was presented before his eyes: both horsemen and footemen glistered in their bright armour, and all thinges were prepared wᵗ great diligence. He behelde the care of the Capitaynes in his enemyes campe, howe they dyd ryde vp and downe to sette thinges in ozder. And dyuers thinges whyche were but vayne in deede: (as the noyse of

men, the neiyng of hoꝛses, and the glisteꝛing of their armour) troubled yet ỹ minde that was carefull in the expectacion of the matter. Therfoꝛe whether it were that he was not fully resolued in his mynde, oꝛ els to pꝛoue the myndes of such as were about hym, called his frendes to cõsult what was best to doe. Parmenio that was the moste expert man emonges all the Captaines in the feates of warre, thought good not to gine his enemyes playne battaile, but rather to set vpõ them in the dead tyme of the nyght, whereby hee thought they might easely be discomfited: supposing that they emonges whom there was so great diuersitie of customes and alteracion of language, could neuer assemble well together, specially whẽ they should bee put sodainlye in feare in the nyght tyme being a sleape: whereas in the daye tyme the shape of the *Scithians* and *Bactrians* wyth their roughe faces, and lõg heare, besydes the hugenes of their bodies should apeare terrible. And argued howe souldiours were moꝛe moued with vayne causes of feare, and such as were of no moment, then ỹ such as were iust causes in deede. He declared also howe their enemies by reason of their great multitude, should be able to enclose their small number round about: and that they should not nowe fight in the streightes and narrow passages of *Cilicia*, but in an open and large plaine. They all in maner agreed to Parmenio his saying: and Policarpon was of a plaine oppinion, that the victoꝛy consisted in the point which hee had

had deuised. The king ỳ before had taunted Parmenio more bitterly then he thought good, would not check him againe, but beheld Policarpō, & sayed: That policie that you aduise me, pertaineth to stealers and theeues: for it is their propertie to worke by sleight & disceyte. I will no more suffer that eyther Darius ablece, the strightnes of the grounde, or the stealth in the night, shalbe an hinderaunce to my glory. I am plainly determined to haue to doe with him in the open daye, & had rather repent mee of my fortune, then be ashamed of my victorie. Besides this it is to bee considered, that the Persians keepe good watch, & stand armed alwaies in a readines to receyue vs, wherof I haue aduertisement, so ỳ they cannot be deceyued that waye. Therefore, there doth remayne no more, but that you prepare your selues to the battaile. When he had by these wordes put them in a courage, he dismissed them from counsell, to refresh their bodies. Darius coniecturing ỳ his enemies would haue done the same thing ỳ Parmenio dyd perswade, caused the horses to stande ready bridled ỳ whole nyght, & ỳ more part of his host to continue armed, & kepe good watch. His campe shone bright wō the fyres ỳ were made, & he him self with his captaines and kinsfolkes went about his battailes ỳ stood in order & in armes making inuocation to ỳ Sunne, to Mars, & to the euerlasting fyre, ỳ they would inspire vnto thē a fortitude of

that myght aunſwere to the auncient glory and actes of his predeceſſours. And ſhewed if the mynde of man were able to conceiue anye tokens or ſignes of the Goddes fauour or aſſiſtaunce: it was no doubt but that they were bent on their ſyde, hauynge already ſtriken a ſoddayne feare emonges the Macedons: whiche (he ſaied) might bee ſeene by their running here and there, by the caricng and caſting of their armour. And that the Gods which tooke care of the Perſians Empire, were nowe determined to puniſhe thoſe cowardes: Whoſe Captayne (qō he) being of no other ſorte then the reſt, were like vnto thoſe wyld beaſtes, whiche through gredines of the praye that they do couet, fall into the ſnares that bee ſett for them. The lyke care was emonges the Macedons. For as though the matter ſhoulde haue beene tryed that nyght, they paſſed it ouer in doubt and feare. Alexander him ſelfe (that was neuer ſeene in ſuche feare before that tyme) called for Ariſtander to make vowes and prayers: who in a whyte garment carying *Verbenes* in hys hande, with his head couered, went before the king, callyng vpon *Iupiter, Minerua, & Victoria*. When he had thus performed

his

his sacrifice accoꝛding to their religion, he returned into his Pauilion to rest ẏ residue of the nyght. Yet he coulde neither rest noꝛ sleape, but continuallye debated with him selfe which waye he should assayle his enemies. One while he was of oppinion to geue his fyꝛste onset vpon that battaile of ẏ Persians ẏ should come on his ryght hand: Some time he determined to mete his enemies in the very front, and otherwhile was in doubt whether it were better to sett first on their left battayle. At length hys bodye became heauy with trauayle of the mynde, and fell into a sound slepe. When the daye appeared, the Capitaines assembled about the kyngs Pauiliõ, to receiue their charge, where they stoode amazed wyth greater silence then they were acustomed. Foꝛ they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wont to call vppon other men, & to repꝛoue such as were slowe oꝛ negligẽt, not to be then sturring, when the matter was come to the point of the extreme daũger. And many were of oppinion that hee slepte notꝫ, but shꝛonke foꝛ feare: yet foꝛ all that, none of them that were about hys person durst attempt to wake him. In the meane season the tyme past awaye, and the

souldi-

ours might neither put on their armour, nor go in order of battaile, without commaundment of their head. When they had thus taried a good while, Parmenio gaue commaundement they should fall to meate. At length when the tyme came, that of necessitie they must set their battailes, hee entred into the kinges lodging, and called vpon him dyuers tymes by his name: but when hee coulde not awake him wyth hys voyce, he sturred him with his hand. It is farfourth day (qd he) and your enemies come forwardes in order of battaile, and your souldiours being yet vnarmed, haue no commaundement geuen them what they shal do. Where is that cherefulnes and courage of yours become, which were wont to stirre vp other men? Alexander made aunswer vnto him. Think you that I coulde sleape before that I had ridde my selfe of the care that letteth me to take my rest? and therupon caused the trompets to blowe to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued still in admiracio that he in such a tyme could sleape so quietly, It is no maruaile (quod Alexander) when Darius burned the countrey, wasted the villages, and destroyed the victualles, I coulde then in no wyse be quiet. But nowe what cause haue I of feare, seyng he prepareth him selfe to fyght? Hee hathe nowe fulfilled my desyre: resorte you where your charge lyeth, and I will streight waies come to geue order emonges you, and reason this matter afterwardes. Hee vsed seldome to take hys

frendes

frendes aduise when any doubt or danger was at hand. Whē Parmenio was gone, he armed him selfe, and came forwardes emonges the souldiers. They seing hym looke so coeerefullye as they had not done before time, conceiued by the boldnes of his countenance a certein hope of the victorye. Then he caused the trenches of hys campe to be cast down, that the souldiours might haue free passage forth, and so did sett hys battailes in order. The horsemē which they cal *Agema*, of whom Clitus was capitain, were set in the wing of his right hand battayle, to whom he ioyned Philotas and other capitaines. The last bande of horsmē was Peleagers, which went next vnto the square battaile of footemen that the Macedons name Phalanx. After the Phalāx followed the Argiraspides, of whō Nycanor ỹ sonne of Parmenio was capitain. Cenos with his band was apointed to be a relief: Horestes and Lyncesta came next in order, and after them Polycarpon that had the rule of the strangers, and Phylagus which had the rule of the Balacrons. And this was the order of Alexanders battayle in the ryght warde, whereof Amintas was chicke. In the left battayl, Craterus had the charge

charge of the Peloponesian horsemenne, and with him also the bandes of the Acheyans, Locrensians, and Poleanensians, and the laste troupes where the horsemenne of Thessalye, vnder Philip there Capitayne. Thus the horsemen couering the fotemen, made the front of ỹ left battaile. And lest ỹ enemies throughe theire multitude shoulde enclose the battaile about, he plãted a great force behinde for the relieke of that matter, & set a relief also vpõ ỹ winges, not in frõt with the rest, but vpõ ỹ sides, to ỹ intent ỹ if ỹ enemies attẽpted to compas about ỹ battailes, that they shoulde be readye to kepe them doinge. Those that occupied the places of relieke were the Agrians, of whom Attalus was capitaine and the archers of *Crete* loyned vnto them. Suche as stode in ỹ hinder partes of the battailles, were ordered to turne their faces from ỹ frontwards, because that beynge in a readynes euerye waye, the battailes in euerye place shoulde be of lyke force. They whiche stode wõ their faces contrarywise were the *Illirians*, and the mercenarye souldiers, with ỹ *Thracians* that were lyghte harnysed. These his battayles were set so aptly to be turned euery waye, that suche as stoode in the hynder

partes

partes coulde not be enclosed aboute, but myghte towardes eache parte make theire front: So the front, the flankes, and the hynder partes were all of like force. When he hadde sette hys men in order after thys manner, he gaue commaundement, that yf the Persians shoulde put forwardes vpon them their hooked waggons with a crye or noyse, that then they should open their battayles and receyue them wyth sylence, not doubtinge but that they shoulde passe thorough without harme doynge, yf no man dyd resyste them. But yf they should come without anye shoute or clamour, that then they them selues should make a cry to feare the horse withall, and so with pykes thrust them in on euery syde. They which had the charge of the battailes were commaunded to extende theym so muche in breadthe as they myght, least by standynge ouer cloase, they myghte be enuironed, and yet not to stretche them so farre oute, to leaue the places voyde or thynne in the middes. The cariage and the prisoners (amonges whome Darius mother was) were sette in the top of an hyll, with a small guarde about them. The charge of the lefte battaile was committed vnto Parmenio, as was accustomed

before

before tyme, and Alexander him selfe was in the other. When they were come neare together, one Bion came flying from the Persian host in all the hast he coulde make, and declared vnto the king that Darius had planted Iron galtoppes, where as hee thought his horsemen should passe, and by a certeine signe shewed him the place, because it might be auoided. Alexander willed the fugitiue to be kepte safe, and assēbled all his Captaines togeather, declaring the matter, and exhorting them to make their souldiours prouide to the daunger, foreseheing the place pointed out to them. But al that were in so great an armye coulde not heare the warning geuen, the noyse of both armies taking awaye the vse of the eares. But Alexander rydinge betwixt the battailes, gaue exhortacion to the Captaines, and to all other that were within hearing. Hee declared that there was but one hazarde remaining to them that had passed through so many countreys in hoape of ỹ victory, which they were now readye to fight for. Thereupon he reduced to their memory the battailes they had fought, at the Ryuer of *Granike*, in the mountaynes of *Cilicia*, & wyth what spede they had passed ouer both *Siria* & *Egipt*, the rehersall wherof put them in great hoape & pricked them forwardes to the desyre of glorye. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawen againe from their former flyeng, were now compelled

pelled to fight of neceſſitie, becauſe they could flye no further, & how that thꝛee dayes together amazed foꝛ feare, they had remained ſtill in one place wᵗʰ their armour on their backes. Of whoſe diſpaire (he ſayed) there coulde bee no greater argument, then ꝑ they had ſet on fyꝛe their owꝛn countrey, cõfeſſing all to be their enemies, that they deſtroyed not. He exhoꝛted thẽ, not to feare the vaine names of vnknowen nations: foꝛ it was a thing nothing pertinent to the momẽt of the matter, which were called *Scithians* oꝛ *Caducians*. Foꝛ that they were vnknowen nacions, was the greateſt token ꝑ they were menne of no valure. Foꝛ becauſe ſuch as be valiant men could neuer be vnknowẽ in ꝑ woꝛld. And cõtrary wiſe, daſterdes whẽ they come foꝛth of their dennes, bꝛing nothing with them but names of men, whereas you (qꝺ he) that be Macedons haue obteyned by your vertue & manhode, that there is no countrey in the woꝛlde ignoꝛaunt of your actes. He willed them to beholde the euill oꝛder that was in their enemies hoſte, of whome ſome had no weapon but a Darte, other a ſlyng to caſt ſtones, & very fewe had ſuch armour as they ought to haue. So that though there were a great number on the other parte: yet (he ſayed) they had moꝛe on their ſide that ſhould come to hãdeſtripes. And that foꝛ his parte, he woulde not require any man to aduenture hym ſelfe, except he were an enſaumple to them to ſhewe valyantnes & courage: Foꝛ he pꝛomyſed that he ſhoulde be ſeene fyghting wyth ꝑ foꝛmoſt, knowyng that ſo manye woũdes as he ſhould get, ſhoulde be ſo many oꝛnaments to hys perſon. He ſayde, they them ſelues knewe that he woulde bee no partaker of the praye, but hat euer his cuſtome was to beſtowe ꝑ rewardes of the victoꝛie to their behoue and commoditie. His foꝛmer woꝛdes he ſhewed to bee ſpoken to ſuch as were mẽ of courage, but if there were any

that

that were otherwise, he had to say vnto them: that they were come to the place from whence they coulde not flye, hauyng left so many countreis behynde them whiche they had passed ouer, and so manye Riuers and Mountaines at their backes. So that nowe there was no waye to their houses and countrey, but such as they must make opē wyth their owne handes. This was the exhortacion he gaue vnto the Captaynes, & to such of the souldiers as stoode nert him. Darius that was in hys lefte battayle accompanyed wyth a choyse bande of electe horsemen and footemen, despised the small number of his enemies, their battailes appearyng to hym thinne and voyde of men, when he sawe, their winges stretched so farre abrode. He stode therfore on his Chariot on high, and turnyng him selfe both on the right hande and the left, spake in thys sort to suche as were about him. wee that not long agoe were lordes of all the countreys lyeng betwixt *Hellespont* and the Occean sea, are compelled nowe to fyght, not for fame and glory, but for our saueguarde, and our libertie, which chiefly is to be esteemed. This daye shall either establishe or make an end of the greatest Empire that hath bene in any age. At the ryuer of *Granike* wee fought wyth a small part of our power, when we were vanquished in *Cilicia*, *Siria* was able to receiue vs, and the ryuers of *Tygre* and *Euphrates* were as bulwarkes to defend our kingdom, But nowe we be come to that point, that we haue no place to flye to, if we be put to flight. All thinges behinde our backes are wasted with this long warre, neither

cities

cities be inhabited nor men left to till the grounde. Both our wiues & children do follow this army, & pray redy for our enemies, except we put forth our bodies for the defence of such as be deare vnto vs. So much as hath cõcerned me I performed, preparing such an army as this huge plaine is scarcely able to receiue: I distributed amongst you horse & armour, prouiding that victuals should not want for such a multitude, & haue chosen out an apt place to araunge our battailes in. All the rest remaynethe in your hãds. Do but dare, & the victory is yours: despise you this fame whiche is but a weake weapon againste men of valure. It is rashnes whyche hitherto ye haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the fyrst brunt is spent, it wraeth then dul as these Dranes hauyng once lost theire tounges. Thys playne hathe dysclosed theire small number, which the mountaynes of *Cilicia* did hide: you see howe thynne theire rankes bee, theire winges how they be extended abroade, how their battailes be empty, and voyde of men, and such as be hindermost haue alreadye turned theire backes. They may be ouerthrowen with youre horse feete, thoughe I sende none against them but the hooked wagons. And if we winne the battail, we make an end of the war, for they haue no place to flye vnto. They bee shut with *Tygre* on the one side, and wyth *Euphrates* on the other: & suche thinges, as before made for their purpose, now be turned and make cleare agaynste them. Our army is light, & without much baggage, & they be laden with praies and with booties. Wee shall kill them therfore as they bee wrapt in oure spoiles. And the same one thing shal bee bothe oure gaine, & the cause of our victory. If any of you bee moued wt ỹ fame of ỹ naciõ, you must think ỹ ỹ armor & ỹ outward shew, & not ỹ bodies of the very Macedõs be ther pẽsent: we haue cõsumed so much

of their bloud since the war began. And seing theye bee but fewe, their losse must needes be to them the greater. For howe great so euer Alexander dothe seeme to suche as be fearefull and cowardes, he is but a man, and if you trust me, both rashe & wythout consideracion: and hetherto more fortunate through our feare, then by his owne valure. There is nothing can cõtinue that is not gouerned by reason. For though fortune seme to fauor for a while, yet at length shee shall not support his rashenesse. Besides that, the estate of things be ful of chaũge, and no man hath perpetualye felicitie. It may be that the prouidence of the goddes haue so ordeyned it, that the Empire of the Persiãs encreased with suche prosperous successe by the space of two hundred and thirty yeares, and brought to so great an height of fortune, should nowe rather bee shaken, then vtterly ouerthrowen: therby to admonysh vs of mans fragilitie, which vseth to forget hymselfe ouermuch in prosperous estate. It is not long ago since of our owne mocion and courage, we moued warre against the Grecians, and inuaded their dominions: but now we stand at defence in our owne countrey. Thus we be tossed one against an other by exchaunge of fortune For one nacion can not beare the greatnes of the Empire which we both do couet. But be it so that hoape were taken from vs, yet necessitie ought to pricke vs forwardes: the matter is come to suche extremitie. Hee keepethe nowe as prisoners bothe my mother, mye twoo daughters, and Occhus my sonne, borne to the succession of thys Empire. Hee keepeth captiue your princes, the issue that is descẽded of the bloud royall: yea, and your Capitaines equall with kinges, and yf you doe not nowe laye to youre hands, I my selfe am lyke to become captyue. Deliuer you therefore my bowels out of prison, and res-

tore to

fore to mee my chyldren, for whose sake I do not refuse to die. Bee you all sure that both my mother and my children (for my wife is dead in prison) be holdyng vp their handes, crying vnto the godds, and callyng for your helpe, your compassion & fidelitie, that you woulde deliuer them from seruytude, from fetters, and from the estate theye are in, lyuyng at other mennes will and appoyntment. Thynke you that theye can bee content to liue vnder suche, as theye coulde scarcelye vouchesafe to haue for subiectes? I see that oure enemies battails do approche, and the nearer the daunger is at hande, the lesse the woordes I haue spoken do satisfie mee. I make request to you by the goddes of our countreye, by the eternall fyer that is caryed vpon the aulters, by the bryghtnes of the Sunne that ryseth wythin the boundes of myne Empire, and by the euerlastyng memory of *Cyrus*, which first dyd take the Empire from the *Medes* and *Lidians* and gaue it to the Persians, to deliuer theire name and this nacion from shame and reproche. Go forth cherefullye, haue you good hope, and see that you restore to your posteritie, the glorye you receyued of your elders. Lo, you carye nowe in youre handes youre lybertye, youre helpe, and your hoape in tyme to come. Whosoeuer contempneth deathe, escapeth death, and death ouertaketh suche as doe flye from deathe. I ryde here in a Chariot not onlye for that it is my countrey custome, but also that I maye bee seene of you all: And I desire nothyng so muche as that yee will followe mee, whether I shew you an ensaple of pwes or of cowardnes. In the meane season whiles Alexander dyd couet to eschewe the place of peryll whereof hee was warned, and enforced hymselfe to encounter wyth Darius leste battayle,

where he remained in person, was compelled to fetche a compasse about. Whom whē Darius perceiued, hee turned likewise hys owne battaile towardes him, willing Bessus to appoint the Massagetes horsemen to geue a charge on Alexanders left battaile. Hee sette before hym hys hooked wagons, which by a signe geuen brake out sodeinlye vppon theire enemies with a full course, to thintēt that by their comming vnbewares, they might do the greater destruction. The pikes that weare set before in the wagons destroied diuers, and many were torn a sūdre by ỹ hookes ỹ were on both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to thē by a litle & litle, but troubled their array with a main flyght. When Mazeus saiwe their disorder, hee put them in more feare, and appointed out a thousand horsemen to fetche a cōpasse about the Macedons battails to spoile their cariage, supposing that the prisoners which were there kept, would breake their bands when they should see their owne nacion approche. Parmenio whiche was in the lefte wing perceiued this matter wel, and therefore sent by and by Polidamus vnto Alexāder to shew him the daunger, & knowe hys pleasure what hee would haue done. Whē hee

hee vnderstoode the case, bye Polydamus: Go thy way (quod hee) and shewe Parmenio, yt we winne the battaile, we shall not onely recouer agayne our owne, but shall haue also the spoile of our enemies. Therefore I woulde not that anye part of our force should be remoued from the main battaile, but let him fight it out manfullye, and not regarde the losse of baggage, wherin hee shall obserue the honoure of mee, and my father Philipp, whose custome was to do the lyke. In the meanseason the Persians were entered amongst the cariages, and had slaine diuers ỹ weare left there in defence: wherupon ỹ prisoners began to lose thẽ selues, & taking vp whatsoeuer came to hand, toke part with ỹ horsemẽ, & sharply assailed the Macedõs. Diuers were so ioyful that they ranne to beare tydings to Sisigambis how Dariꝰ had won the victory, and had ouerthrowen hys enemies to theire great slaughter, and also that al their cariage was wonne, thynkyng the lyke fortune had bene euery where, seeyng theye sawe the Persians fall to spoyle. And although they erhorted Sisigãbis that shee should leaue her heauines and reioyce, yet she continued in the same estate she was in before, without speaking one worde, or chaũging coloure or countenaunce, but sate styl immouable. Shee was so ouercome (as it was thought) with sodaine ioy, ỹ shee durst

not ſturre nor attempt fortune. For ſuch as dyd beholde her, coulde not perceiue, which way ſhe was enclined. In the meane ſeaſō Amintas, that was maiſter of the horſe to Alexander, came wythe a fewe bandes of horſemen to ſuccoure the cariages, but vncertain it was whither he did it of his own headde, or by the kinges appoyntment. He was not able to endure the force of the Caduſians & Scithians. for ſcarcelye attemptinge the ſkirmiſhe, he was driuen backe, & fled againe vnto Alexander, being rather a witnes of the loſſe of the cariage, then a reſcuer of the ſame. The griefe that Alexander conceiued of this matter ouercame the purpoſe he toke before, and feared (not without cauſe) leſt the ſouldiers through the carefulnes to recouer theire owne, might leaue the fyght, and reſort toward their baggage: he ſent therefore Aretes capitaine of the ſperemen ỹ weare named *Sariſſopherȳ* againſte the Scithes. By this time the hooked waggons, which had ſomwhat troubled the forefront, were come within the ſquare (whiche the Macedons call Phalanx) yet the ſouldiers neuer ſhronke at the matter, but receyued them into the middes of their battayle, where as ioyninge them ſelues cloſe toge-

ther

ther, they stode lyke a wall on bothe sydes thrusting their pikes into the bowels of the horses and ran about the waggons, throwyng downe such as stode in them at defēce. The whole battaile was entangled and troubled with the ruine and killings of the horses with suche as gouerned them. They could not rule their horses when they were once galled and hurte: whiche with muche leaping and strugling, not only brake oute of their trace, but also ouerthrewe the waggons, drawing at their tailes the men that were slayne, neither beinge able to stande stil for the feare they were in, nor yet go forwardes beinge so faint of theire woundes. Yet a fewe of them passed through the battaile, whereby suche as the waggons dyd lyte vpon, were miserablye slaine, lyinge vpon the ground with their members cutte in sundre. Yet because ỹ through ỹ greenesse of their woundes they felt little pain, they kepte their weapons styll, notwithstāding they were maimed & without strēgth, till suche time as by continuall bleadinge, they sonke downe dead. Aretes in ỹ meane tyme had slaine the capitaine of the Scithians that were spoilinge of the cariages, & repulsed thē back. But streight way came ỹ

Bactrians by Darius sending, & tourned ȳ
fortune of the field againe. Many Macedõs
were slaine at the fyrst encounter, but more
fled vnto Alexãder. Thẽ the Persiãs made
suche a shoute as men are wonte to do that
win their victory, & fiercely assayled their e-
nemies, thinking ȳ they had in euery place
bene put to flight. Whẽ Alexander perceyu-
ued his men shrink, to begin to faint, & geue
ground, he rebuked such as he saw afraide,
& encouraged manye ȳ withdrewe from the
fight: so that hee alone restored the battaile
againe. When he had put them in harte, he
required them to preesse forwardes, & go on
freely against their enemies. Alexãder per-
ceiuinge ȳ the Bactrians were departed to
the defeatinge of the cariages, & by their go-
inge had left the right hand battaile of Da-
rius thinne & naked, he bent his force wholy
that way, and there made a wonderfull
slaughter and destruction of his enemies,
which by reasõ of their lose aray, were not
able to withstand him. The Persiãs in the
left winge seing this thing, were in hope to
haue enclosed Alexander about, & came for-
wardes to set vpon his backe part, wherby
great daunger had ensued to him being en-
uironed both before & behinde: if ȳ Agrians

had

had not put theire spurres to theire horses, & geuen a charge to their enemies, that were enuironinge the kinge aboute, and so compelled the Persians to tourne their faces againe towardes them. The battailles thus were sore trauailed on both sydes. Alexãder had his enemies bothe before and behynds, and hys enemyes that came on hys backe were sore oppressed by the Agrians. The Bactrians also that had spoyled the cariages, were excluded from their owne companye, and coulde not recouer theire place againe. Thus the battailles were deuided in diuers partes, and fought one against another as their chaunce fell. The two kinges, that ioyned their battailes harde one to another, remued againe the fight. There were moste of the Persians slayne, but the number of the wounded were like on both sides. Darius dyd ryde in a chariot, and Alexander vppon an horse. They bothe hadde a choyse bande aboute theim, whyche were careles of theire owne lyues. For yf theyre kinges should miscary, neither they coulde be sauke, nor yet desire to liue. Wherfore euery of thẽ thought it a noble thing to aduẽture thẽ selues before ẏ face of their prince, & he ẏ coueted most to defẽd his master, was

in moste

in most perill, for eche man desired ẏ honor to kil ẏ kīg on his cōtrary part. Ther (whether it were an imaginacion of the eyes, or a thing done in deede) suche as were about Alexander, beleued that they saw an Egle flickring aboue hished, which neither fered with clashyng of the harneis, nor by crying of them that were dying, hong still in the ayre a litle aboue him. Then Aristander whiche ware a white garment and caryed lawrell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto the souldiers being busye in fighting, as a certain token of victory. That thyng caused thē whi.h before were in some doubt, chere fully & w̄ great cōfidence, to assayle their enemies. The fight cōtinued after this sort, vntil the time ẏ he was slaine, which gouerned the horse ẏ drew Darius chariot. Then neither the Persians nor Macedons doubted but that Darius had ben slaine. And the Persians vppon that imaginacion made a barbarous noyse, and a sorowful howling, wherwith theye sore troubled and astonyed theire whole hoast, that were yet fightyng with equall victory. Darius kynsmen and the Squyers for his bodye that were on his left hand, left him and fledde awaye wyth a maine flight: but suche as stoode in his defence

lence on his right hand, cõueyed him into ỹ hart of the battaile. It was sayde that Darius drewe oute his swoorde and was determyned dyuers tymes to kyll him selfe, rather then to sustaine the shame of flying awaye. But when hee sawe as he sate aloft on his Chariot, that a great part of hys army remained yet fightig, he was ashamed to leaue them in suche sorte. And whiles he thus wauered in his oppinion betwirt hope and dispaire, the Persians by litle and lytle gaue ground, and shronke from their order. Alexander that had tired many horses, dyd at that instant chaunge a newe and strake at the faces of them that made resistaunce. Ther was none thẽ ỹ made resistance any lenger, but a manifest slaughter fell on the Persians, and Darius turned his Chariot to flye awaye. The Macedõs pursued hard after them that fledde, and the dusty fleiwe vp to the skye, toke awaye theire prospect, so ỹ they wãdered as it had ben in darknes, & euer drew together when they harde any voice that they knewe. Onely the ratlyng and noyse of the Chariot was a token for ỹ Macedons to followe after. As fortune was prosperous to the Macedons on this part, & contrarious vnto theire enemies: so on the

other

other side wher Parmenio in the left wing encountred with the Persians, they had the better, and the Macedons the worse. Mazeus with his whole band gaue a charge, and put the horsemen that stoode in the wynges to a sore distresse. And thereupon by reason hee abounded with multitude, began to enclose the footemen about. Then Parmenio sent woorde to Alexander in what daunger they were in, which he signified to be such, that except they had succoure in time, theye could not resist, but be enforced to fly away. Alexander was gone far in the chase, when this sorowfull message was brought him. Wherefore he commaunded the horsemē to stay, and chafed wonderfully that the victorye shoulde thus be taken out of his hands, and that Darius had better fortune in flying, then he in his folowyng. In the meane season the fame of Darius ouerthrow was brought vnto Mazeus. Wherfore, thoughe hee had the vpper hand, yet hee was stryken with such feare of hys fellowes misfortune that he made a slacke pursute vpon their enemies. Parmenio was ignorant of the cause whye the fight did slacke so willingly of their parte, but boldely vsyng the occasion of the victory, called the Thessalyen horsemen

horsemen vnto him and sayd: See you not how our enemies that euen nowe gaue vs a fierce onset, be sodainly afraide, and with draw them selues? I see the fortune of our king doth geue vs the victory. All the fielde is strowen with the Persians, ỹ be slayne. Why do you therfor stay? are you not good enough for men that be flying? They, saiwe his woords had an appearance of a trueth, and therfore by and by they tooke courage, and putting their spurres to the horse, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies, who retyred not by litle and litle, but marched away a great pace. And they wanted nothyng of flying, sauing that they had not yet directly turned theire backes: yet for all that, in so much as Parmenio knewe not what was become of the king, nor of his battail, staied and would not pursue after them. Mazeus hauing leasure geuen him to flye at hys lybertie, passed the Riuer of *Tigre*, not ỹ nert way, but by a further cõpas about vñ more suertie, and recouered the Citye of *Babilon*, wyth the remaynes of that vanquished armye. In the meane season Darius wyth a fewe that accompanyed hym in hys flying came to the Ryuer of *Licus*, wheare passyng ouer, hee stoode in doubt whether hee

shoulde breake the brydge or no. For it was shewed him that his enemies were at hād. But cōsidering how many thousāds of his men by the breakyng thereof shoulde bee a praye to his enemies, he left the brydge stā-ding, and at his departure, sayd: that he had rather open the waye to them that pursued them, then to shut it against them that fled after hym. But Darius left not his flying till hee came to *Arbella*, where hee arriued about midnight. Who is able to cōceiue in his minde, or expresse in wordes the many-folde chaunces in this discōfiture, ỹ slaughter that fell bothe vpon capteines & souldyers, the chasing of them that were putte to flyght, and the destructiō in particular and general: Fortune heaped together that one day the chaunces of a whole world. Some tooke the way that came nert to hand, another sort fled vnto the woods, & sought oute bypathes to escape suche as hadde them in the chase. There was a confusion of horsemen and footemen mired together without any head, the armed with ỹ vnarmed, and the whole with the hurt. At length the cōpassion that one had of another was turned into feare, & they that could not folow, were left bewailing them selues one to another.

But

But thirſte chiefly afflicted the woũded & wery, which lay along euery wher in the wais wher ani water was, gaſping after it wᵗ opē mouth. And whē for greedines they had gulled in the troubled water, they begā to ſwell, when the mudde once entered into their entrayles. And being thus not in caſe to moue, the enemy came & ſlurred them vp with new woundes. Some, when the booke neare hande weare taken vp by other, ſought out for ſpringes in euery ſecret place. For there was no puddle ſo dirye nor ſo far out of the way, that could be hidden from ỹ thirſte of them that ſearched them out. The olde men and women were heard howling and crying in al the villages neare ỹ waye ſyde, howe Darius was yet their king. Alexander (as it hath bene ſaid before) purſuing the chaſe was come to the Riuer of *Licus*, wheare as the multitude of the flyers was greater then coulde paſſe the bridge. So ỹ many, when theire enemies purſued them, leapt into the water, & there laden wᵗ theire armour, and wery with fyghting & flying, were conſumed with the ſtreame. But within a while neyther the bridge, nor the Ryuer were able to receiue the throng that continually encreaſed by theire vndiſcreete

flying.

flying. For when feare was once entered into their harts, they doubted only ỹ which put them first in fere. The Macedõs were egre in the pursute of their enemies, & required Alexander that he would not suffer his enemies to escape free away. But he to stay them, alleged that their weapons were dulled, their hãds wered, their bodies faynt wt long pursute, and the night besides fast approching on. But in verye deede the care of his other battail, which he thought to be yet fighting, caused him to retourne to the succor. Ye had not so sone turned his ẽsignes, but that certaine horsemen broughte hym woorde from Parmenio, that hee likewyse had put his enemies to flight. Yee was not in so great a daunger al that day, as when he was cõming towards his cãp. For there were but fewe that folowed him, and theye were out of order, as men that reioysing of the victory, iudged all their enemies either to bee fledde or slayne in the field. Sodainlye there appeared a band of Persian horsemen commyng agaynste them, whyche at the fyrste stayed, but afterwardes perceyuyng the small number of the Macedons, gaue a charge vppon them. The king rode formoste, rather dissimulyng then despysing the

sing the perill he was in: but his perpetuall felicity neuer failed him in extremities. For at the first encountre he strake the captayne of the persians, who in egernes of the fyght vnaduisedly came againste him, through w̄ a speare. When he w̄ that blowe was striken to the ground, Alexander slew the next vnto him with the same staff, & after, diuers other. When his company sawe their enemies amased with his doinges, theye brake vpon thē, & threw many to ẏ earth: yet they for their parts were not vnreuenged, for ẏ whole battaile did not so earnestly fight, as that small band assēbled so by chaunce. But at length when they sawe flying in ẏ darke to be more suerty vnto them then fightyng, they shocked away in diuers companies. Alexander hauing escaped this extra ordinary perill, brought his men in sauegard vnto his campe. There were slaine of the Persians, which came to the knowledge of thē that had the victory. xl. M. & of the Macedōs lesse then. ccc. which victory Alexander wā more by his owne vertue, then by anye fortune: & with hardines & courage, more then through any aduantage of the ground. For he both ordered his battailes politikely, and fought manfully. With great wisedom he

contemned ỹ losse of the baggage, cõsidering the weight of the whole matter to consist in the battaile it selfe. Whiles the fortune of the field was yet doubtful, he vsed hymselfe as assured of ỹ victory. And whẽ he had put his enemies in feare, he ceased not till he had set thẽ flying, ỹ that whiche scarcely can bee beleued, in ỹ fiercenes of courage, he pursued in the chase more wisely thẽ gredely. For if hee shoulde haue followed on still, parte of his power yet fighting in ỹ field, he shoulde eyther haue lost the battaile thorough hys owne faute, or els haue wonne the victorye through the prowes of other men. Or if after he had gotten the victory, he had shewed him selfe afraide of the horsemen ỹ he mette he must either haue shamefully fled, or haue ben miserablye slaine. Nor his Captaynes were not to be defrauded of their commendacion: for the woundes that theye dyd receiue, were tokẽs of their manhode. Ephestions arme was wounded wᵭ a speare: Perdicas, Cenos, and Menidas wᵭ shot of arrowes were nere slaine. And if we wil geue a true iudgement of the Macedons, ỹ were there: we must confesse that he was a king worthy suche ministers, and they men worthy of such a maister.

¶ The

¶The fyfthe booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, kyng of Macedon.

IF I shal make mention of the matters that chaunsed in the meane season both in *Greece*, *Illiria*, and *Thracia*, by the appoyntment and commyssion of Alexander, in order as theye fell: the matters of *Asia* shoulde thereby bee interrupted, whiche I thought most conuenient to put wholly together, vntill the death of Darius, and then to ioyne them in this woorke, as they agree with the tyme. I will firste speake of those thynges that ensued after the battail at *Arbella*, where Darius arryued aboute mydnyght. And as it chaunsed, the moze parte of his frendes, and of all other that weare escaped from the fielde, were come thither. Hee called them all together, and spake to them in this effect: That he doubted not but Alexander and hys menne, gaping with greedye desire for the aboundaunce of spoile that was in readynes for them, woulde vysite suche Cities and countreys of his, as were most notable & plentiful of riches: whiche thing (he sayde) considering his estate, could not but tourne at length to his auaile. His purpose was (he said) w a smal band to repair into ỹ deserts. And seing ỹ vttermost bouds of his

kingdome were yet vntouched, hee myghte from thence easely repaire his power againe to renue the warre. Let therefore that greedy nacion (quod he) take my treasure, and satisfye theire great honger, with gold, whiche shortlye shall cause bothe the same and them also to bee a praye vnto vs. For he had learned (hee saide) by experyence, that the aboundaunce of ryches, and excesse of thynges, that their flockes of Concubynes and Eunuches were nothing els but burdens and impediments: which Alexãder possessyng & carying about, should make him inferior vnto them of whom before he was victorious. His oration seemed to al men to be full of desperacyon. For they sawe thereby that the riche citie of *Babilon* shoulde be geuen vp vnto the Macedons, and *Susa* shortlye after, with all other ornamentes of the realme that weare cause of the warre. But hee proceeded in perswadyng them, howe that menne in aduersitie ought not do thinges that shoulde seeme goodly in the speakyng but necessary in the experience: That warres weare made wyth Iron, and not with golde, with menne, and not with the walles of Cities, for all thinges follow the that bee armed and in strength. He shewed that hys auncetors were afflicted after this maner in the begynning, and yet recouered againe quickly their former estate. After he had spoken these words, either for that they thereby encouraged, or els that they rather

obeied

rather obeied his auctoritie then lyked hys counsell, followed him into the boundes of *Media*. Shortly after *Arbella* was geuen vp vnto Alexander, which was full of riches & treasure of pretious stuffe, and princely apparaile, and besides the substãce of ỹ whole army was left there. The sickenes that began in Alexanders campe, rysyng of the sauour of the dead bodies scatered ouer all the fieldes, was the cause that he did the sooner remoue. The plaine countrey of *Arabia* be rye notable with the abundance of sweate odours there growing, lay vpon the ryghte hande as theye marched. And so passed thorough the countrey lying betweene *Tigre* & *Euphrates*, which is so fatte and plentifull a ground, that the inhabiters be fain to driue their beasts from feedyng, least they should kill them selues by eatyng ouer much. The cause of thys fertilitie commeth of the moisture that issueth frõ both Riuers distillyng by veines through the ground. Bothe these Riuers haue their beginning in the mountaynes of *Armeny*, wher they be distaunt. v. thousand. v. C. furlongs, and so runne forwards keping their distance, till they come neare the bounds of *Media* and *Gordia*. For then by litle and litle the further they goe,

they draw more nere together, leuing leſſe ſpace betwixt them. They encloaſe on both ſides the countreye ẏ is called *Meſopotamia*, from whence they runne through the boundes of *Babilon* into the red ſea. After Alexãder had chaunged his campe fower tymes, he came to a citie called *Memnium*, wheras there is a fountaine within a caue, that boyleth out great plentye of pitche: ſo it appeareth that the Babilonians had their cement from thence, which they employed about ẏ making of their huge walles. As Alexãder was going from thence towardes *Babilon*: Mazeus which was ſaid before to haue fled from the battail, came to meete him in moſt humble maner, wher as cõmitting his children into his hands, yelded him ſelfe, & rẽdred vp the citty. His comming was verye grateful vnto the king, cõſidering what trauaile hee ſhoulde haue ſuſtained in the ſiege of ſo ſtrõg a Citie: if it had ben kept againſt him. And beſides, forſomuche as Mazeus was a man both famous, & valiaũt, & much noted for his doing in the laſt battail, thought his enſample ſhould muche prouoke others to do the lyke. For that cauſe he receiued both him and his children with gentle manner, and yet gaue order to his menne, that theye

Babilon rendred by Mazeus to Alexander.

ſhould

shoulde enter into the citie in suche araye of battaile as if they shoulde fight. A great nũber of the Babilonians stoode vpon ẏ walles, desirous to beholde hym that was their newe king. But the moze part went forth to meete him. Bagistines that was captayne of the Castle, and keper of the kinges treasure because he would shewe hymself to be noe lesse affectionate towardes Alexander then Mazeus was, strowed all the wayes where he shoulde passe, with flowers & garlands, and set aulters of siluer on both sides with frãkensence burning vpon the same, and all other kinde of sweet odours. Nexte vnto hym came flockes of beastes, greate numbers of horses with Lions, and Pardales carted in cages, whiche hee broughte as presents to geue vnto Alexander. And after them the *Magies*, singyng accordynge to their countrey maner. The *Caldeis* wẽt next wyth theire diuiners and prophetes, and thenne the musicians wyth their kyndes of instrumentes: whose property was to syng the prayses of kinges, and the Caldeis vsed to declare the mocions of the planettes, wythe the course and reuolucyon of the tyme. Laste in order came the Babylonyan horsemen, whose sumptuous

 furniture,

furniture, bothe for them selues and theyre hõrses, tended more to voluptuousnes and delicacie, then to any magnificence. Alexãder that was enclosed aboute withe armed men willed that the Babilonians shoulde come behynde hys foote men, and he riding alofte in hys charyot entered into the citie, and afterwardes into the palace, where the next daye he surueyed Darius treasure and riches. The beautye and pleasauntnes of that cytie, gaue iuste occasyon to Alexander and suche as were withe hym to wounder muche vpon yt. Semiramis was the builder thereof, and accordynge to some mens opinion Belus, whose palace is to be seene thee. The walles bee made of bricke sette with a kinde of pitche called *Bitumen*. And they be. xxxy. foote in breadthe, so that two cartes maye easelye go vpon them a front. They be in height. C. cubits, & the towers be. x. foote higher then ỹ rest of the walles. The compasse of them about is CCClxviij furlonges, beynge buylded (as yt is lefte in memorye) in so manye dayes. The houses stand ỹ breadth of an acre distaunt from the walles, not builded thorough out ỹ citie, but onely by ỹ space of. lxxx. & x. furlonges, and those not ioyned neare one to another, but

Babilons wonder described

for

for some cõsideracõ deuided a sonder. The rest of the ground is sowed & tilled, to thintent that if any forein power come againste them, they should be able to be releaued by ẏ fruite thereof cõminge. The riuer of *Euphrates* doth run thorough the middes of the citie, & is kept in on both sydes with walles of a wonderful workmanship. But ẏ great caues made of brick & set with pitch in stead of mortar, wrought lowe within the groũd to receiue ẏ violence of ẏ streame, do excede all the rest of the workes there made: for excepte ẏ same were of quantitie & largenes to receiue ẏ water when ẏ streame flowеth ouer ẏ bankes ẏ be made to kepe it in, ẏ violence thereof should beare downe ẏ houses of the citie. There is also ouer that riuer a stone bridge which ioyneth both partes of ẏ citie togethers counted amonges the marueilos workes of ẏ Orient. For by reasõ that *Euphrates* is so ful of mudde and owse, groũde can scarcely there be founde to lay ẏ foundacion vpon, & the streame besides casteth vp such heapes of sand againſt ẏ brige, that it is an impediment for the water frely to passe, and therfore beareth vpon ẏ brige with greater force, then if it had his free recourse. There is also a castle that is. xx. furlonges

longs about, the towers wherof be. xxx. fote deepe within the ground, and. iiij. score fote in height aboue the ground. Wher also the wonders are to be sene, so often mencioned in the Greeke poesies. For in the same bee whole groaues of trees set bye wonderfull art aboue the ground, so high as the toppes of the towers, which be marueilous beutyfull and pleasaunt through their height and shadowe ẏ they make. The whole weightes of them is susteined and borne by huge pilers made of stõe, vpõ which ther is a floore of square stone, that bothe vpholdethe the earth that lyeth deepe vpon the pillers, and also the humour wherewith it is watered. The trees that growe therupon bee of eight cubits about, & as frutefull as if they grew in natural earth. And althoughe processe of time is wont by litle and litle not onelye to destroy thinges made with hande, but also the very workes of nature: yet this worke, for all it is oppressed with the rootes of so many trees, and burdened with the weight of so much earth, & of so gret a wood: Yet remaineth vnperished in anye pointe, beeing susteined vp w̃. xx. broade walles distant. xl. foote one frõ another. Whẽ these trees bee seen a far of, theye seeme to bee a wood growing

wing vpon a mountaine. It is said y^t a kyng of *Siria* reigning in *Babilon*, builded thys work for his wiues sansie, who for the loue she had to woods & shadowy places, moued her husbād in doing therof to counterfeit the plesantnes of nature. Alexāder taried longer there then in any other city, which hurted more ye discipline of ye Macedōs in their wars, thē any other place. For nothig was more corrupt thē ye maners & customes of ye citie, nor any other was more abundantly furnished of al things, wher with men be allured & sturred to excessiue pleasures. The parents & husbands were cōtented for gain y^t their children & wiues should haue compa ny wt such straūgers as came amongst thē. The kings & nobilitie of *Persie*, delite much in banqueting pastime, but ye Babilonians be specially geuen therunto, to wine and to dronkennes, wher the women vse suche a custom, y^t in the beginning of the feast their apparaile semeth womanly & demure, but afterwards by litle & litle they put of theire vppermoste garmentes, and laying a syde all shamefastnes, doe discouer them selues naked. Whyche vile customs is not vsed by harlottes onelye, but by them all in generall, which count ye making of their bodies

Deliraūt reges vbi plectuntur Achiui

commen

commen but a ciuilitie and good maner: In this voluptuousnes and abhominacyon, the Conqueror of *Asia* wallowed by the space of .xxviij. daies, whereby he became muche the weaker to haue done other enterpryses, if hee had had an enemie to stande agaynste him. But to the intent the harme hee tooke shoulde be the lesse perceyued, hee encreased his power with a newe supply of men. For Amintas ỹ sonne of Andromenes brought him from *Antipater* fyre thousand Macedon footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, and with them fiue hundred Thracian horsmẽ, with three thousand fiue hundred footemen of the same nacyon. He had also out of *Peloponese* fower thousand footemen, and fower hundred fower score horsemen beyng Mercenary souldiers. Amyntas also brought w̃ him fyfty young men of the nobility of *Macedonia* to attend vpon Alexanders person: whose office was to serue the king at meat, and to bring him his horse when hee went to battaile. They accustomed to bee aboute him when he hunted, and kepte the watche by course at his chamber dooze. These were they whiche afterwardes proued great captayns, & that was ỹ race, out of the which ỹ rulers of their men of warre did come. Alexander

ander appointed Agathon captayne of the Castle of *Babilon*, with seuen hundred Macedons, and three hundred Mercenary souldiers, and lefte *Minctas* & *Appollidorus* gouernoures, of the citie and the countreye, to whom he assigned two thousand footemen and a thousande talentes, geeuing them in commission to wage more souldiers. Hee made Mazeus that gaue the Citie into hys handes, lieutenaunt of the whole, & caused Bagistenes that yelded vp the Castle to follow him in his warres. *Armenia* was geuẽ to *Methrenes* that betrayed the city of *Sardos*, and to encourage his souldier to the enterprysyng of other things, gaue out of ỹ treasure of *Babilon* to euery Macedon horsman fiue hundred deniers, to euery horseman of the straungers fiue hundred, and to euerye footeman two hundred. When hee had set order in al these thinges, hee came into the coũtrey called *Satrapene*, which being plentiful of al things and abundant of vitaile, caused the king to tary the longer ther. And least idelnes should be any abatemẽt of his mens courages, deuised to stur vp their spirits and kepe them occupied by appointing iudges to trye out suche as had shewed thẽselues most valiaunt in the warres, to whõ

he

he assigned rewardes due to their deseruinges. There were eighte founde out, whose doings appeared aboue the reste, & ỹ charge of a M. men was comitted to euerye one of them: & were called *Chiliarchi*. That was ỹ first time they put a M. in a band: for before ỹ time they were deuided into .v. C. whiche was not counted anye great preferment or reward of seruice. The number of them were great that came to pleade their righte in this behalfe, whiche before the iudges ỹ gaue sentẽce, brought in testimony of their doings: wherby it could not be vnknowen which of them had deserued iustly suche honour or not. The firste place was adiudged to olde *Adarchias*, for his valiauntnes vsed in the battail at *Alicarnasson*, wher he chiefly did restore againe the fight, when ỹ yong souldiers had geuen it ouer. The secõd place of honour was geuen *Antigonus* & *Philotas*, *Angeus* obteined the third: the fowerth was adiudged to *Amintas*, the fift to *Antigonus*. *Amintas* the sonne of *Lincestes* obteined the sixte. *Theodorus* the seuenth, and *Hellanicus* the last. Hereuppon to great purpose hee altered manye thynges that were vsed by his predecessours in the discipline of warre. For

where

wher as before the horsemen of euery countrey were in seuerall bands by themselues, he without respect of any nation appointed them suche captaines as he thought expedient. And wher as at ỳ remouyng of the cãp warnyng was accustomed to be geuen by a trompet, the sounde whereof in any noyse or tumult coulde not be sufficiently heard: hee caused an hyghe pole to bee alwaies set vp before his pauilion, whereupon remayned a signe apparãt to al men. The token that theye obserued was fyer in the nyght, and smoke in the day tyme. As he was marching towardes *Susa*, Abulites that was ruler of the region, either by Darius commaundement, thynkyng by meanes of the spoyle to deteine Alexander the lõger ther, or els of his owne free wil, sent his sonne to meete hym, profering the deliuery of the cytie. The yong man was entreted very gently, and by his conduction Alexãder passed forwardes, til he came to the Riuer of *Hydaspis*, whiche is counted to bee a very delycate water. Abulites there mette Alexander with pryncelye and riche gyftes, and presented hym amongst the reste of other thinges Dromedary Camels ỳ were wonderful swift, with .xy. Elephãts ỳ Darius had

sent

sent for out of *India*, to bee a terrour to the Macedons, whiche nowe weare become an increase of their strength. When the riches of the banquished was come into the victorers hands: hee found in that citie an incredible treasure, fyftye thousande talentes of Wassy siluer uncoyned: which riches gathered together in the space of many yeares by diuers kinges for their succession and poste ritie, thus in a moment came into the handes of a forreine prynce. Alexãder being lodged within the Palaice, did sit down in Darius seate: which beeing higher then serued for his stature, by reason his feete could not reache to the ground: one of the kinges pages put a boord underneath for him to tread upon. At the doing wherof, one of the Eunuches that belõged to Darius looked heauily, and fetched a great sigh, whose sadnes when Alexander perceiued, he enquired of him the cause. He aunswered, that when he beheld the boorde whereupon Darius was wont to eate employed to so base an vse, he could not beholde it without great greife. Alexander being therfore ashamed, so much to misuse the thing that before was had in such reuerence, caused the same to be taken away. But Philotas made reqſt he shoulde not so

not so do, but rather take it as a diuinacion of his good luck and fortune, that the table wherupon his enemy did eate, should now become subiect vnder his feete. Alexander purposing from thence to passe into *Perse*, committed the citie of *Susa* to Archilaus w̄ fy. M. men of warre, & to Zenophilus the charge of the Castle, leuing such Macedons as were aged there in guarison. But he did betake ẏ keping of the treasure vnto Callicrates, and restored to Abulites the gouernement and principalitie of the Countrey of *Susa*, leauyng wythin the citie Darius mother & his children. And forasmuche as Alexander had at the same time plentye of cloth of purple sent him out of his countrey, with garmentes ready made after the Macedons maner: for the honour he bare to Sisigambis (whom he had in reuerence as if she had bene his mother) thought good to present parte of those to her, with the persons that vsed to make them: and willed it shoulde be tolde her if she liked them, shee shoulde accustome her neeces to make the like, & geue them for presentes. At the declaring of which message the teares ranne out of her eyes, which declared the gift not to be acceptable to her: for the Persian wo-

men take nothing in more despyte, then to put their hands to woll. When report was made to Alexander in what sort she had receiued his present, thought both the matter meete to be excused, and her to be cõforted. Therefore he came to visite her, and saied: This garment which I weare, was bothe of the gift & makyng of my sisters: our customes brought me into errour. Therefore I require you, that ye will not take myne ignoraunce in euill parte. I trust that otherwise I haue obserued sufficientlye all thinges which I knewe to be your customes. When I vnderstoode that it was not lawfull amonges you for the sonne to sytte in the mothers presence, except she doth geue him leaue: when soeuer I came into your presence, I woulde neuer sytt tyll you willed mee so to do. You would often tymes haue fallen downe and worshipped me, but I would not suffer you: but haue euer honoured you, & geuen you the name due to my sweete mother Olimpiades. When the kynge wyth these wordes hadde well pacified her, he departed, and by fower encampinges came vnto a Ryuer that the countrey menne call *Pasatigras*: whiche springing in the mountains of the *Vxions*, it runneth steepe down emongest the rockes with woody bankes by the space of 50. furlonges: but then descending into a playne, it becommeth nauigable, and so runneth with a more quyet streame, and in a softer grounde by ỹ space of vi.c. furlonges, till suche time as it doth

enter

enter into the Persian sea. Alexander passing this riuer with nyne thousande footemen of the Macedons, with the Agrians, ỹ mercenary Greekes, & with iiij. thousande Thracians, came emonges the Uxions, whose countrey is neare vnto *Susis*, & stretcheth out into *Persia*, leauing betwixt it & *Susis* a narrowe streight. Madates had the rule of that countrey, who was such a man as was rare at that tyme: for he determined to abyde the extremitie for his ductyes sake. Suche as knewe the countrey did enforme Alexander that there was a priuye waye through the hylles, whereby menne might get to ỹ furthermoſt syde of the chiefe citie of that countrey: and if he would sende a fewe that were light armed, they might be brought to a place where they should appeare aboue their enemies heades. Thys counsaile lyked him so well, ỹ he made the counsailers guydes, & cõmitted thẽ to Tauron, whome he appointed chiefe of ỹ enterprise. Hye assigned vnto him a M. v. C. mercenary Souldiours, & a M. Agrians, with whom after the Sunne was gone downe, he entered into his iourney. Alexander in ỹ thirde watch remoued his campe, & by the spring of the day had passed the streightes.

There he set his men in hand to cutt downe timber for the making of Towers, and all other suche thinges as perteined to the assault of a citie, and so began his siege. It was a difficult matter to make the approche: the citie stoode so high, and the rockes gaue suche impediment, whereby the souldiours were repulsed, and receiued many hurtes, contending bothe with thenemies and the situacion of the place. Notwithstandynge they gaue it not ouer, by reason the kynge was euer emonges the formost, asking of them if they were not ashamed beyng the conquerours of so many cities, to be so lōg in the winning of a small castle, that was so obscure and vnknowen in the world. As he was traueyling emonges the rest, they did shoote and cast stones at him from the walles: whome the souldiours defended wᵭ their targettes, because they coulde not remoue him awaye. At length Tauron appeared aboue the castle of the citie: at whose syght the enemies hartes fainted, and the Macedons the more fiercely did assaile thē. When they sawe themselues in this extremitie, and perceiued their power not able to withstand the Macedons, they became of dyuers disposicions. For some were determined

mined to dye, and many to flye away. But the greater parte retyred them selues into the castle, from whence they sent vnto Alexander. xxx. Embassadours to aske mercy. But he gaue vnto them a sorowful aunswere, that there was no pardon to bee obteined at his handes: Whereupon they being in doubt of death, and excluded from all other remedies, sent vnto Sisigambis by a priuy waye vnknowen to their enemies, making their request that she would vouchsafe to be a meane to Alexander for the pacifiyng of his rigour and wrath towardes them. In her only they put their hoap, knowing how much Alexander loued her, and that he esteemed her as if she had bene his mother. And they thought she woulde ẏ rather encline to their desire, because Mazatez ẏ was captain there had maried her sisters daughter, wherby he became a kyn to Darius. Sisigambis stoode long in denyall of their request, shewing that it agreed not with her fortune to become an intercessour for others, adding therunto, that shee feared lest she might misuse the victorers fauour, and make him wery of her: for shee sayed ẏ she had more remembraunce that she was prisoner, then that she was a Queene. But

Sisigam
Sub modiat
wy Alex:

at length shee was ouercome w̄ their sute, and by her letters made intercession vnto Alexander after such a sort, that shee fyrste excused her selfe of her sute making, & after required him that he woulde pardon them, or at the least wayes that he would forgeue her being peticioner but for the life onely of such one, as was her frend & her kynsman, and now no lenger any enemie of his maiesty, but in readynes to submitt him selfe. This one matter is sufficiēt to declare the moderation & clemencye that was then in Alexander: for he did not only pardon Badates, but also left the citie vntouched, graūting to all that were within it bothe libertie and freedome, with enioyment of their landes & goodes, without paying of anye tribute, more then ỹ which shee coulde not haue obteined of Darius being her sonne. When he had thus subdued the *Vxions*, he annexed them to the prouynce of *Susa*, and purposing to passe forwardes, deuyded hys army into two partes, whereof he cōmitted the one to Parmenio to bee conducted by ỹ playne countrey, and reseruyng such a part as was pestered least with baggage, tooke the waye of the mountaines, which wyth a continuall ridge, runneth out in length frō

thence

thence into *Perse*. In his passage he destroied all the mountain countrey, arriuing the iij. day in the boundes of *Persia*. The v. day he entred into the streightes of *Pilae Susidae*, which were defended by Ariobarzanes w̄ xb. M. footemen, who keping the toppes of the high and steepe rockes, that hong ouer on bothe sydes the waye, at the fyrste kepte themselues quyet of purpose, pretendyng a feare, vntill suche tyme as the armye was entred into the narrowest of the streight. But when they sawe the Macedons passe on forwardes in their contempt, then they threw down great stones vpō them: which falling vpon the nethermost rockes, & there breaking in peeces, rebounded among the Macedons, falling with such violence, that they distressed whole bandes at once. And besides they did them greate domage wyth shot of arrowes, and stones that they dyd cast out of slynges. Such as were men of courage were not so much greued with the death & destruccion that they saw there present, as that they should be slaine after such a maner like beastes caught in a pit, where as they coulde not be reuenged vppon their enemies. Their wrath hereupon was turned into such a rage and woodnes, that they

ran vp againſte the rockes, and there enforced them ſelues by taking holde, and by heauing vp one of another, to mount vp vn to their enemies. But whē they had caught holde vpon ſome outward parte, and therby laboured to aſcend, by force of ſo manye handes that faſtened to it at once: they pulled a ſunder the thing they holde by, and ſo fell downe all togethers. In this caſe they could neither remaine, paſſe forwards, nor yet defende them ſelues by anye deuiſe they coulde make with their targets, ſeeing the ſtones were of ſuch weight ý were throwē down vpon them. Alexander was in great trouble of mynde, not onely for the griefe he receiued by the deſtruccion of his men, but muche more for the ſhame that hee had ſo raſhely brought his armye into ſuche a daungerous ſtreight. He had bene inuincible before that day, and neuer attempted thing in vaine. He had paſſed the ſtreightes of *Cilicia* without domage, and opened to him ſelfe a new way by ſea into *Pamphilia*. Which felicitie of his ſemed to be at a ſtay, and plucked backe: for he could perceiue no other remedye, then to returne by the way he came. He cauſed the Retreit therefore to be blowen, and gaue order to his ſouldi-

ours

ours to go close togeether, and by castyng their targets ouer their heades retourne backe againe, after they had marched rrr. furlonges within the streight. When he was returned and had planted his campe in an open grounde, consulting what was best to do: suche a superstition entred into his mynde, that he called for the prestes & diuiners to helpe the matter by their inuocation. But Aristander to whome he gaue most confidence, coulde do nothing in that case. Alexander therefore condempninge their sacrifices which he thought then done out of tyme, called for suche as knewe the coūtrey. They shewed him of another way that was playne and open ynough: but yet he lyked it not: he was so ashamed to leaue his souldiers vnburied that were slayne. For emonges all other ceremonies obserued in the discipline of their warres, there was none more religiously kepte, then the burityng of the dead. Hee caused therefore suche prisoners as were lately taken, to be called before hym: emonges whome there was one experte bothe of the Greeke and Persian tongue, whiche shewed to ỹ kyng that he laboured in vayne, if he thought to conueye his army ouer the toppes of those moun-

mountaines, whiche (hee sayde) began at mount *Caucasus*, and closed in the one syde of *Perse*, by the space of M. vi. C. furlonges in length, and cxl. in bredth till such tyme as they come vnto the sea, whyche also enclosed the countrey from the place where the mountaines ceased. The countrey lyyng at the foote of the mountaines, he described to be plaine, fruteful, and replenished with many faire cities and villages, and that ỹ Ryuer of *Araxes* runnynge through the same, falleth into another ryuer called *Medus*, bringing with it the waters of manye small streames. Whiche ryuer of *Medus* being muche lesse then the same whiche it doth receiue, runneth from thence towarde the South sea. No place coulde bee more aboundant of grasse: for euery where neare vnto the water, the grounde was couered ouer with flowers. The ryuer was shadowed ouer with Platyne and Popler trees, whiche by reason they stande somewhat highe, and the water runneth lowe in a deepe chanell, seeme to suche as bee a farre, to be woods adioyning to the mountaines. He counted no countrey in all *Asia* to bee more holsome, or to haue more temperate ayre then this, both by reason of shadowy

moun-

mountaynes that euermore defendeth the heate, and also of the Sea, whiche on that parte being at hande wyth a certayn temperature doth nourishe the grounde.

When the prisoner had made a description of the countrey after this maner, the kyng enquired of him whether hee knewe those thinges by reporte, or els had seene them wyth his eyes. He sayde that he had beene an heardman, and knewe the countrey very well, and all the passages. And that he had been twyse taken prisoner: once by the Persians in *Licia*, and nowe the secounde tyme by him. Upon those wordes Alexander called an Oracle to memory, whereby it was signified to him ỹ a Lician shoulde be hys guyde into *Perse*. Wherefore promising to hym suche rewardes as the present necessitie required, and as his estate was meete to receyue, willed him to be armed after the Macedons maner, and to bee their guyd to shew them the waye. Which thoughe he had declared to bee but streight and difficulte: yet Alexander put no doubt to passe it wyth a small number: thinkyng it an easy matter to passe ỹ place for glorye & perpetuall cõmendacion that ỹ herdman had passed oftẽ tyme in feding of his beasts

Then

Then the prisoner lefte not to alledge the difficulties of the waye, specially for suche as were armour. But the kyng sayde to hym: Take mee for suretie that neuer one of them that be appointed to thee, shall refuse to goe, where thow shalt passe. That done he lefte Craterus with the charge of his campe, and he himself passed forwards wyth suche footemen as were accustomed to his person with those bandes of whome Meleager had charge, and with a thousand Archers on horsebacke, taking firste order with Craterus, that he shoulde keepe his campe in suche fourme as it had bene vsed before, and cause many fyres to bee made of purpose, that the enemies might the rather thinke him to bee there still present: he aduised him further that if he perceiued Ariobarzanes to get knowlege of his enterprise, and so to sende parte of his power to the stopping of his passage, that then by pretẽding of an assault hee shoulde shewe all the terrour he coulde to drawe his enemies frõ hym to the defence of that place. But if that hee him selfe shoulde deceiue his enemies, and recouer the hill vppon them, that then vpon the hearing of the alarme in the Persies campe preparing themselues to his resistance,

resistance, he should not doubt to passe that way from whiche they were repulsed the day before, iudging they shoulde fynde no resistance, thenemies being conuerted towardes him. In the thirde watche he sett forwardes in great silence, without blowing of trompet, and passed on by such way, as was shewed him by ỹ guide euery souldier that was light armed caryyng iij. daies vittaile. But when he was on his waye, besides the wilde rockes and sharpe stones that caused them oft to faile their footyng, the snowe also driuen with the wynd, was a great impediment to them in their iourney. For they fell dyuers tymes downe into pittes, and suche as coueted to pull them out, were oft tymes drawen after. The night also with the countrey vnknowen, and the guide of whose fidelitie they doubted, encreased muche their feare: considering that if they shoulde not deceiue theire enemies watche, they shoulde be taken like beastes. They waied also that bothe theire sauegarde and the kinges lay in the handes of one that was a prisoner. At length they came to a mountayne, where as the waye towardes Ariobarzanes laye on the ryght hande. Then he sent before by the guidyng

of

of ſuche as they had taken priſoners, Philotas, Cenon, Amintas, and Policarpon with a bande of the lightelt armed, whome he aduiſed that forasmuch as they had bothe horſemen and footemen, and the countrey fertyll and haboundant of fodder: that they ſhoulde make no haſte, but paſſe forwardes faire and eaſelye. And he with the eſquiers of his body, and the bande of horſemen that they called *Agema*, was guyded by another bypathe farre of from the place where hys enemies kepte theire watche. But the paſſage was ſo ſtreighte and ſo hollowe, that they ſuffered great trouble and veration in paſſinge thereof. It was middaye, and they were ſo wery'd, that of neceſſitie they muſt take reſt, hauinge ſo farre to go and as they had trauailed all readye, ſauinge that the waye was not ſo difficulte nor ſo roughe. He refreſhed therefore hys men wyth meat and wyth ſleape, and in the ſeconde watche dyd riſe vp and paſſed the reſte of his iourney without anye great difficultie, ſauinge in that parte where the mountaine began to fall a ſlope towardes the playne, theyre paſſage was ſodeynely ſtopped by a greate gul made with the violence of the ſtreames y ranne downe y mountaines, by wearing

awaye of the earth. And besides the trees standing so thicke, and the bowes ỹ grewe one within another, appeared before them as a continuall hedge. When they sawe them selues stayed after thys maner, suche desperacion fell emonges them, that they coulde scarcelye abstaine from teares: the darkenes being a great encrease, of theyr terrour, seing they could not enioy any benefite of the starres. For if any gaue light the same was taken away by the shadowe of the trees. And the vse of the eares coulde not serue for one to receiue counsell & comfort at another, ỹ wynde whyrled so emongest the leaues, and the shaking of ỹ bowes made suche a noyse. But at length the day whyche they so much desyred, diminished with his light the terrours that the darknes of the nyght did make. For by fetching of a little compasse about, they passed the hollowe gulle, and euery man began to be a guyde. Finally they gott vp in the toppe of the hyll from whence they myght behold their enemies lyng in campe. Then the Macedons shewed them selues stoutlye in their armour, appearing sodeinly on their backes, whē they mistrusted no such thing, and there slewe suche as came fyrste to encounter

counter wyth them. So that on ỹ one parte the greuous noise of them that were slaine, and the miserable showte of suche as ran in for succour amonges their owne company, put the rest to flyght withoute making any resistaunce. When the alarme was once harde in the campe where Craterus lay, ỹ armye by and by passed forewardes to go throughe the streightes, in the whiche they were repulsed the day before. Philotas also withe Polipercon, Cenos, and Amintas, which were gon the other waye: arriued at the same tyme, and gaue a further terrour vnto theire enemies. When the Persians sawe their enemies assailinge in all partes at once, though they were so oppreste wyth their sodain inuasion that at the fyrste they were in doubte what to do: yet at lengthe they assembled together and foughte notablye, necessitie stirringe vp the faintnes of their hartes: for oftentimes dispaire is cause of mens good hope. They being vnarmed, closed with them ỹ were armed, and withe the weight of their bodies pulled their enemyes to the earthe, and killed diuers wythe their owne weapons. Artobarzanes wythe forty horsemen, and fiue thousand fotemen that kept about his person, brake through ỹ

battaile

battail of the Macedons, to ỹ great slaughter bothe of his own men & of his enemies, and by makinge of haste, recouered *Persepolis* the chief citie of the countrey. But when he was excluded from thence by suche as were within, he renued agayne the fyghte with suche as were wythe hym and so was slaine: by that time Craterus that made all the speede he coulde deuise was come vnto them, and Alexander fortifyed his campe in the same place, where he dyd discomfite his enemies. For though they were al fled and he certayne of the victorye, yet because he foũd his way stopped in many places with great and deape diches, he thought good to vse circumspection, and not to make ouer great hast: not so muche for feare of his enemies force, as of the nature of the grounde whiche he sawe apte for them to laye embushementes against him. As he was passynge forwardes, he receiued letters from Mizidates the keper of Darius treasure, signifyinge that the inhabiters of *Persepolis* hearinge of his commynge, were aboute to spoyle the treasure, and that therefore he should make hast to preuent ỹ matter for ỹ way was ready inough, notwithstãdinge ỹ ỹ riuer of *Araxes* was in his waye. There

was no vertue in Alexander more cõmẽdable then his celeritie, whiche he shewed specially in this matter: for leauing his footemen behinde, he trauailed all nyght wyth his horsemen, & by the day light came to the ryuer of *Araxes*. There he founde villages at hande, where of ẏ tymber broken down of the houses, they made a bridge in a moment, by the helpe of stones whiche were layde in the bottome of the ryuer. When Alexander was passed the ryuer, and came neare vnto the citie, a company met him so miserable, as seldome haue bene found in any memory: the same were Greekes, to ẏ number of iiij. thousand, whome the Persians before tyme had taken prisoners, and afflicted with dyuers kyndes of torments. For of thẽ some had their feete cut of, some their handes, and other their eares, but all were marked in the flesh with hote yrons. The Persians hauing maimed and deformed them after this maner, kepte and reserued them still, as a memory of the despite towardes the nacyon. But when they sawe that they shoulde become vnder the obedience of another prince, they suffred the Greekes to meete Alexander. They apeared rather to be ẏ Images of some strange monsters,

monsters, then of men: for nothing could be discerned, or knowen in thē but their voice. The compassion of their wretched estate caused the beholders to let fall no fewer teares then they did thē selues. For it could not appeare whiche of them were most miserable, though their afflictions were dyuers. But when they had cryed out before Alexander, that *Iupiter* the reuenger of Greece had opened their eyes in beholdyng him that shoulde deliuer them, they iudged then al their griefes as one. Alexander wiped the teares from his eyes, & willed them to be of good cheare, for that they shoulde both see their countrey and their frendes, & he encamped in ỹ same place, where he met them, being two furlonges from *Persepolis*. The Greekes drue themselues together to consult what was best for them to demaūd of Alexander, & when some were of opiniō to aske dwelling places wiin *Asia*, & other had more mynd to retourne vnto their cōtreis: Entimeon Timeus spake thus vnto them. We that were euen nowe ashamed to put our heades out of the prison & darknes wee were in to make sute for our owne ayd & relieke, are become of such simplicitie, that we presently desire to shew vnto Greece as a pleasant spectable our infirmities and maymes, wherof we haue as much cause to be ashamed, as to be sorowfull. Ye ou must

thinke that such beare their miseries best, which can fynde the meanes to hyde them most, and that there is none so familier a countrey to men that be vnfortunate, as solitarines and forgetfulnes of their former estate. For they whiche make an accompt of their frindes pitie and cõpassion, knowe not how soone their teares will drye vp: no creatures can loue faithfully whom they abhorre. For as calamitie of his nature is querelous, so felicitie is alwaies proude, and euery one doth vse to consider his owne fortune, when he iudgeth of another mans: For except we had all bene in miserye, one of vs long ago had bene werye of another. What maruaile is it then though men in felicitie seeke alwayes their equalles? Myne oppinion is therefore that we (as mẽ which long ago were as dead in this life) seeke vs a place wherein we may hide our maimed members, and where as exile may hyde our horrible scarres. If wee shall retourne into our countrey, being in this case, how can wee but be vngratefull to our wyues whome we maryed young? Or shall our children or our brethren acknowledge vs being prison slaues? and though all thinges shoulde there succede as wee woulde wishe, yet howe small a nomber of vs bee able to trauaile through so many countries? How is it possible for vs that be here banished into the vttermost boundes of the Orient, aged, impotent, maimed, to suffer those thinges, which haue tyred men, that were in force and victorious? It is to be asked what shal become of our wyues whome chaunce and necessitie hath gotten vnto vs here for the only comfort of our prisonment? what shall we do with our children we haue begotten here? take them with vs, or leaue them behynd vs? If we returne with suche as we haue heare, none of those in Greece will acknowledge vs: and shall we then be so madde to leaue those comfortes wee

haue

haue already, being vncerteine whether wee shall come to those wee seeke or no? Verely much better it were for vs, to hyde our selues emongs them whiche haue bene acquainted with vs in our miserye. These were Entymeon his wordes: But Theatus of *Athens* reasoned to the contrary. There is no creature (quod he) in whome remaineth anye sparke of honestye, that wyll esteeme vs by our outward shape, seing that our calamitie is not come of nature, or by our owne deseruyng, but through misfortune, and our enemies crueltie. Suche as bee ashamed of fortunes chaunces, are wel worthy to suffer misaduenture. They geue a greuous sentence vppon the estate of mans mortalitie, and dispaire much of mercy, that deny their compassion to men in miserie. Now we therefore since the Goddes haue offered to you the thyng whiche ye durst neuer haue wished for: that is your countrey, your wyues, and your children, being the thinges whiche men esteeme more, then life, and redeeme oftentymes with death: why do you doubt for the enioymcnt of those thinges to breake out of this imprisonment? I iudge yᵗ ayre of our owne countrey most naturall to vs, where me thinkes is another maner of liuyng, other customes, other religion, and another tongue, which for the pleasantnes is coueted of the barbarous nations. What great thinges then be those that ye woulde willingly leaue, the want of whiche only is the cause of your misery? My oppinion is plain that we visit our countrey and our home, and not refuse so greate a benefite as Alexander hath proffered vs. If any bee so deteined wyth the loue of such wyues and children as they haue gotten here in seruitude, let suche be no impedimēt to others, yᵗ of all things esteeme most their naturall countrey.

There were but fewe of his opynion: for custome that is of greater force thā nature, preuailed in that matter. They agreed to demaunde of Alexander the gifte of some place to inhabite in, and there chose out an hundred to bee suters vnto him in that behalfe. When Alexander perceiued them cōming towardes hym, thinking that they woulde haue required the thing that he cōceyued in hys mynde: I haue appointed to euery one of you (qō he) beastes to cary you, and a M. Deniers, and when you shall come to Greece, I wyll so muche prouyde for you, that excepting your misfortune, no other shall thinke themselues in better case then you. But when hee sawe them looke still towardes the ground, and that they neyther lifted vp their eyes, nor spake one woorde, he enquired the cause of their heauynes. Then Entymeon rehearsed againe those thinges in effect which he had spoken before in counsaile. The kyng therefore pitying no lesse their demaunde, then he did their misfortune: commaunded iij. M. deniers to be geeuen to euery one of them, and garmentes besydes, with cattell and corne, whereby they might till & sowe the land that should be appointed vnto thē. The nert day he assembled all ỹ captaines of his army togeathers, and shewed them

that

that there was no citie more enemye to the Greekes then the same that was the chiefe seate of of the auncient kynges of *Perse*, frō whence all the great armies had been sent into Greece: and how Darius fyrst & after Xerres had come out of that place to moue their vniust warre against *Europe*, wyth the destruccion of whiche citie, hee thought good to reuenge their predecessours. The inhabiters had abandoned the citie, & fledd where feare did driue them. Whereupon ỹ king streight waies brought in all his footmen to the spoile thereof. He had before ỹ time wonne many cities: some by force & some by composition, that were full of ryches, & princes treasure. But the abundāce of that citie did exceede all the reste, as in the place where the Persians had layde their whole substance. Golde & siluer was there founde in heapes, and great plenty of ryche vestures & furnimentes of houses, not only for necessitie and necessary vse, but for excesse and ostentation: whiche was so great, that it gaue the victorours occasiō to fight emonges themselues, eche taking other for enemies, that had gotten the rychest spoile. The plentye there was suche, that they could not employ to their vse the riches that

found, but when they sawe thinges of value, esteemed them rather then tooke them away: Till such time that euery one coueting, to haue a parte of euery thinge, tare & brake a sunder the princelye robes, and the precious plate of curious workmanshipp, with the images of Golde & siluer, whyche were either beaten in gobets or plucked in peeces, as euery one caught holde: nothing was left vntouched, nor nothing caried away whole: crueltie bearing no lesse rule there then couetousnes, euery one was so loaden with golde & siluer, that they esteemed not the keping of prisoners, but killed such as they fyrst spared in hoape of gayne. There were many therfore that preuented their enemies hãdes with voluntary death, and dyuers that clothing thẽselues in their most precious apparel, leaped downe from ỹ walles with their wiues & children. Certain there were that set their owne houses on fyre (whiche they iudged their enemies would els haue done shortly after) because they would burne thẽselues emonges their owne familye. At length the king did forbid any violence to be done to women, and that no man should medle wyth any thing pertayning to them. The summe of money

taken

taken within this Citie, was greater then any man could well credite: but eyther we muſt doubt of ỹ reſt, or els beleue that hath bene left in memory, how that the treaſure there founde, amounted to a hundred and twenty thouſand talentes: whiche treaſure becauſe that Alerãder purpoſed to employ in his warres, cauſed horſe and camels to be brought from *Suſis* and *Babilon* to carye the ſame. The taking of the citie of *Perſagadis*, wherein was found fiue thouſand talentes, was an encreaſe to thys ſumme, which citie being buylded by Cyrus, was yelded vp by Gobares that had the kepyng therof. Alexander left in the Caſtle of *Perſepolis*, three thouſande Macedons in guariſon vnder Nicarides capitayne of the ſame, and reſerued to Miridates that deliuered him the treaſure, the ſame honour that hee enioyed with Darius. Leauyng in this citie thegreater parte of his armye, with his cariages vnder the rule of Parmenio and Craterus: he wyth a thouſande horſemen and a bande of footemen, wythout anye baggage, went to viſite in the winter ſeaſon the inwarde partes of *Perſe*. There hee was vexed and troubled wyth ſtormes and tempeſtes that were in maner intollera-

ble:

ble: but yet he letted not to go forwardes in his enterprise to the place that he apointed. In his iourney he came vnto a cõtrey that was couered all with snowe, and frosen by force of the greate colde. The wildenes and desert maner thereof, put the souldiers that were wered with trauaile in suche a feare & terrour, that they imagined to haue seene the vttermoste bounds of the worlde. For when they beheld all thinges waste, and no signe appearinge of mans habitacion, they were amased, and made requeste to returne againe, before that the light and ỹ elemẽtes shoulde fayle them. The kinge woulde not chastise them being in his terrour, but leaped from hys horse, and went on foote in ỹ snowe and the yce: Which thing when his frendes sawe, they could not for shame but folowe: then the capitaines did the like, and fynallye the souldiers. The kinge was the fyrste that did breake the yce and made him selfe a waye, whose ensample the reste dyd folow: At length hauing passed the woodes that were without waye, they founde here and there some appearaunce of habitacion, and perceyued flockes of sheepe. When the inhabytoures that dwelled in cottages disparkled there aboutes sawe men comming,

whome

whome they iudged to be theire enemies, thinking they had ben enclosed about, slew such as were not hable to folow them, & fled to the wilde mountaynes that were full of snowe. But at length by communication with suche as they tooke prisoners, theire wyldenes was somewhat mitigated, & they yelded them selues to Alexander, whom he hurted not anye kinde of waye. When he hadde destroyed all that parte of *Perse*, and brought the townes vnder his obedience: he came into the countrey of the warlyke Mardons, which differe much from the rest of the other Persians in their maner of lyuinge. They with theire wiues and children did inhabite within caues in the mountaines, and lyued with the flesshe of sheepe, and wylde beastes. For the women accordinge to theire kinde had anye more appearance of meekenes or mylones then ỹ mẽ, either in theire personages or disposicions But their curled heare did hang down before vpõ their faces, & their garments came but to their knee. The bãdes of their slingz were fillets for their forheads, whiche they vsed both for ornamẽt, & for defẽce. This nacio for al their vnciuil & rude maner, couide not escape to be subdued w̃ the same force of

fortune

fortune that others were. So that the .xxii. daye after he departed from *Persopolis*, he retourned thither againe. Then he gaue rewardes to his frendes, and to all the reste accordinge to their deseruinge, distributing in manner all the riches whiche he founde within that Citie. But all his excellent vertues of the minde, his princelye qualities, wherein he excelled all kinges, bothe that cõstancy in all daungers and perilles, that celeritie in deuysinge and persourminge his enterprises, his promise kepinge towards the yelden, his clemency towards prisoners, and that temperaunce in lawfull and accustomable pleasures, were all defaced through the intollerable desyre and delyte he had in drinkinge. For notwithstandinge that his enemie which contẽded with him for thempyre dyd chiefly then prepare for the warres, and was gatheringe of hys power togethers: and although the people newly conquered, had not yet receiued quiet subiection: yet he gaue himselfe continually to feastinge and banquetinge, where weomen were euer presente, not suche to whom menne had respecte of honestye, but harlots, which had there more libertie, then was beseming in ỹ cõpanye of men of war.

Emonges

Emonges them there was one Thais, who vpon a day in her dronkennes, affirmed to Alexander that he shoulde wonderfully winne the fauour of the Greekes, if he would commaund the palaice of *Persepolis* to be set on fyre. The destruction whereof (shee saide) they greatlye desyred, for so much as the same was the chiefe seat of the kinges of *Perse*, which in tyme past had destroyed so many great Cities. When the dronken harlot had geuen her sentẽce, there were other present, who being lykewyse dronken, confyrmed her wordes. Alexander then ỹ had in him more inclination of heat then of patience, saide: Why do we not thã reuenge Greece, and set this citie on fyre? They were all chafed with drinkinge, and rose immediatlye vppon those woordes to burne that citie in their dronkennes, which the men of warre had spared in their furye. The king himself fyrst, & after his geastes, his seruants and his concubynes set fyer in the palaice, whiche being buylded for the most parte of Ceder trees, became sodainly in a flame. When the army that was encamped neare vnto the citie sawe the fyre, whiche they thought had bene kyndled by some casualtie, came running to quenche ỹ

Persipolis on fyre by king and Thaiss dronkennes

same

same ngain. But when they saw the kyng there pretēt nourishing the fyre, they powred down the water which they brought, & healped likewise the matter forwardes.

Thus the palace that was the head of the whole Orient, from whence so manye nacions before had fetched their lawes to live vnder, the seate of so many kinges, the only terrour sometime of Greece, the same that hath beene the sender foorth of the Nauies of ir. M. shippes, & of the armies that ouerflowed al Europe, that made bridges ouer the Sea, & vndermyned mountaines where the Sea hath now his course: was consumed & had his ende, & neuer rose agayne in all the age that did ensue. For the kynges of Macedon vsed other cities, which be now in the Persians handes. The destrucció of this citie was such, that ỹ foundation therof at this day could not be found, but that the ryuer of *Araxes* doth shew where it stoode, whiche was distant from *Persepolis* xx. furlonge, as the inhabitants rather do beleue then know. The Macedons were ashamed that so noble a citie was destroyed by their kyng in his dronkenues: yet at length it was turned into an earnest matter, & were content to thinke it expedient that the citye should

ſhould haue beene deſtroyed after that maner. But it is certein, that when Alexander had taken his reſt, and was become better adayſed, he repented him of his dooing and ſayed: That the Perſians ſhould haue done the Greekes more harme, if it had bene hys chaunce to haue raigned in Xerxes ſteede. The nexte day he gaue xxx. talentes for a reward to him that was his guyde into *Perſe*, and from thence he tooke his iourney into *Media*, where a newe ſupplye of ſouldiours (of whom Plato of *Athens* had the cõduction) came to him out of *Cilicia*, being v.C. footemen & a thouſande horſemen. When he had by this meanes encreaſed his power he determined to purſue Darius, who was come to *Ecathana* the head citie of *Media*, & was purpoſed from thence to haue paſſed into *Bactria*. But fearing to bee preuented by the ſpeede his enemies made, altered his purpoſe and his iourney. Alexander was not come neare him by a M.v.C. furlongs, but he coulde not thinke any diſtaunce ſufficient to defende him againſt his celeritie, & therfore prepared himſelf rather to fyght then to flye. He had wt̃ him xxx. M. footemẽ, emonges whõe there were iiij. M. Greekes whoſe fidelitie neuer fayled in all hys aduerſe

uerſe fortune. He had alſo iiij. M. Archers & Slingers beſides iij. M. iij. C. Bactrian horſmen, which were vnder Bellus charge being gouernour both of the citie of *Bactria* and the countrey. Darius with his bande withdrewe a little from the high way, and commaunding the berlettes with ſuche as hadde charge of the cariage to paſſe on before, called a Counſaile and ſpake theſe wordes vnto them. If fortune had matched mee with cowardes, and with ſuche as eſteemed any kynde of lyfe before an honeſt death, I would rather haue holden my peace, then conſumed my wordes in vaine. But I haue had greater experience then I would wiſhe, both of your valyant courage and fidelitie towardes mee. So that I for my parte ought rather labour to ſeeme worthy to haue ſuch frendes as you are, then to doubt whether ye yet remaine the ſame menne towardes mee that ye were before. For of ſo manye thouſandes that were vnder mine empire, you onelye haue followed and ſticked by mee, when I was twyſe ouerthrowen in the fielde, and twyſe enforced to flye awaye. Your fidelitie and your cõſtancy maketh mee thinke that I remayne ſtill a kyng. Traitours and fugitiues reigne in my Cities, not for that they bee thought worthy of ſuch honour, but that you might be prouoked by their rewards to reuolte againſt mee. Notwithſtanding, you haue choſen rather to folowe mee in my myſfortune, then bee partakers of the victorers felicitie. You are worthy, whome the Gods ſhall reward, if I may not, as vndoubtedly they will: There can no poſteritie be ſo ſylent, nor no fame ſo vngratefull, which ſhall not with due commendations

extoll

extoll you to the starres. Though I was determined still to haue fled, whereunto my harte neuer agreed: yet now I haue cõceiued such a trust of your vertue and manhode, ỹ I purpose to passe against mine enemies. How long shall I bee as a banished man within mine owne dominion, and flye from a straunge and a forreine prince within the bounds of mine owne kingdome? when I may halarding of the batttaile, either recouer that I haue lost, or els dye an honest death? Except parauenture it semeth better to some menne, that I should e submit mye selfe to mine enemies will, and by the ensample of Mazeus & Mithrenes, receiue by peticion the dominion of some one nacion: wherein I iudge that Alexander had rather follow the inclinacion of his glory then of his wrath. No let the goddes neuer graunt that it may lye in anye mans power, either to take away, or geue vnto me this Diademe vpõ my head, nor that I lose this Empire so long as I haue breath. For in this I am determined, that my life & my kingdome shal end both together. If this mind remain likewise in you, & if this law be grafted in your heartes: there is none of you that can want libertie, there is none that shalbe cõpelled to endure the yrkesomnes of your enemies, neyther their proud port, nor their statelye lookes. Euerye mans right hand shall then geue vnto him selfe eyther a reuenge, or an end of al these euils. Nothing can stand long in one stay. I my selfe am ensample of the alteratiõ of fortune: & therfore it is not without cause that I looke for a better chaunge. And if the worst fall, that the gods will nedes be agaynst vs in oure wars that be lawful & honest, yet it can not be taken from vs, but that we may alway mãfully & honestly dye. I require & make intercession to you by the honor of our predecessors, ỹ & suche fame & glory possessed ỹ kingdoms of ỹ whole Orient, by those men to whom Macedon somtime

was tributary, by so many nauies of ships sēt into Greece, & by so many victories wonne, ẏ ye wil take such courage & hart vnto you, as may seme woorthy your nobility & your nacion. So that wyth the same constancy of minde wherwith ye haue endured things past, ye wil proue & attēpt whatsoeuer fortune sēd to you hereafter. I am resolued for my part to getie my selfe perpetuall fame either by the victory, or by ẏ notable aduenture, I wil geue for the wynning thereof. When Darius had spoken these woordes, ẏ representacion of ẏ present peril so mased thē al, ẏ they were not able to shew their aduice, or to speke a word to ẏ matter, til such time as Artabazus the most aūciēt of his frēds (which before tyme had ben w̄ king Philip) begā to say his fantasy. we are come into the fielde (quod hee) w̄ you that is our king, in our most precious apparaile, & richest armour, with the entent to winne the victorye: and if necessity require, not to refuse deathe. To whose woordes al ẏ rest w̄ theire voyce seemed to agree sauing Nabarzanes, whoe being present in that coūcel w̄ Bessus, & of his opinion, conspired a treason so wonderful, ẏ the like hath seldome been hard of before. Their determinacion was by force of the souldiers they had vnder theire charge, to put their kig in hold, w̄ this purpose, ẏ if Alexāder pursued thē, to deliuer hī thē aliue into his hands to win thereby his fauor, as a thing which they thought hee would esteeme

teeme greatly. But if they could escape conueniently, then they were in mynde to kyll Dariꝰ and deuiding the kingdom betwirte them, renue againe the warre agaynste the Macedons. Theye hauyng imagyned this treason long before in their minds Nabarzanes thoughte this an occasion to make a preparatiue to his wicked intent, by a perswasion which he there vttered. I knowe (qꝺ he) that I shal speake the thing which in the firste appearance shal not be grateful vnto your eares: but Phisicions vse to cure diseases that be greate, wt sharp & bitter medicines. And the shypp masters whē they feare a shipwrack, accustome to redeeme such things as maye bee saued, wt the destruction & losse of the rest. yet this matter ꝑ I mean is no perswasiō to losse, but a deuice by what meanes ye may preserue your selfe & your kingdō. We make a warre wherin ꝑ gods seeme manifestly to be against vs, & fortūe cesseth not obstinatly to pursu vs. It is needful therfore ꝑ we lay newe foundacions, & seke out men which haue other fortune. My opiniō is therfore, ꝑ you deliuer vp your kingdom vnto sōe mās hands which shal haue ꝑ name of king, so long as your enemies remaine wtin *Asia*. And when they be once departed (which my minde geueth mee to bee shortly) he shal restore ꝑ same vnto you again. The countrey of *Bactria* is yet vntouched, the *Indians* & *Sacans* bee at your appointmente, so manye people, so many armies, so many thoulands of horsemē and fotemen haue their force in redynes to renue thys warre againe. So ꝑ a much greater force remaineth thē ꝑ which is cōsumed. why do we then like beests wilfully run to a destructiō ꝑ is not necessary? It is the propertye of suche as bee menne of courage,

rather to despise death then hate the life. & oftentymes by wearines of trauaile, cowards are driuen to take litle reguarde of themselues. But vertue leaueth nothyng vnproued. And death being the ende of al thing, it is sufficient if we go not to it like slug gards. Therfore if we shal go vnto *Bactria* which is now our next refuge: let vs for ỹ times sake make *Bessus* king, who is al ready ruler of that countrey, & when the matters be once brought to some stay, he shal restore to you the Empire againe, as to the righteous king. Although Darius perceyued not the greatnes of the myschyefe that laye hidden vnder his wicked woordes, yet was it no maruaile thoughe hee coulde not abstaine: for he turned towards him, and said: thou vyle slaue, hast thou nowe founde out a tymeete to disclose the treason that lyeth in thy hart? and therewithal pulled out his sweorde to haue slaine him, if Bessus & the other Bactriās about him had not letted his purpose. These pretended to be sory for the matter, but minded in very dede to binde him, if he had continued in his purpose. In the meane season Nabarzanes escaped awaye, & Bessus followed after, who immediatly did seperate the bandes they had charge of, from the rest of the armye, because theye woulde vse them a part to their purpose. Whē they were departed, Artabazus framed his talke accordyng to the estate of the time then present, and beganne to pacifye Daryus wyth

woordes,

wordes, putting him in remembrance, howe his case was such ỹ it behoued him to beare quietly the folishnes or rather the errour of his owne men, for asmuche as Alexander was at hand ouer sore an enemy for them, though there were no discord nor disobedyence. But if we shalbe at variaunce (quod he) whē he doth pursue vs, our matters shal stand in very euil plight. Therupon Dari⁹ enclined somewhat to Artabasus aduise, & though hee was determined to remoue: yet because he perceiued euery man to be troubled in minde, remayned styll in the same place. But hee him selfe was so astonied wō sorow and desperacion, that hee kepte hym selfe close and came not foorth of his pauilyon: Wherupō the camp being without gouernement, the heads not consulting together as they did before, ther rose amōgst thē gret diuersitie of opiniōs, & mocions of mind. Which thing when Patron saw, that was captayne of the Greeke souldiers, he willed his men to put on their armour, to bee in a readines to do as they should be appointed. The Persians encamped by them selues, & Bessus remained amongst the Bactrias, practising to cary away the Persians into *Bactria*, and to leaue Darius: signyfyng to

them the rychesse of that regyon yet vntouched, and the peryll they stoode in, if theye remayned still. But they were all in manner of one opinion, that it was ouer greate an offence for them to forsake their prynce. In the meane season Artabasus executed ye kynges office, and went amongst the Persians in their lodginges, admonishyng and exhortyng them, sometyme aparte, and otherwhile altogethers, and woulde neuer leaue them, before it appeard ye they would doe as the kyng woulde haue them. That doone wyth greate payne and difficultye he perswaded Darius to take his meat, and to sette hys mynde vppon his busines. But Bessus and Nabarzanes were so greedy to gette the gouernement into theire handes, that they resolued to putte in execucyon the thyng theye hadde long conspired betwyxte them. For so long as Darius was in saue garde, theye coulde not hoape to compasse nor atteine so greate power and authoritye: the maiestye of a kyng is hadde in so great veneracion amongst those nacions: at whose onely name they assemble together, and the reuerence vsed to them in their prosperitie, cause men to shewe them the lyke obedyence in aduersitie. The greatnes and

power

power of the countreis wherof Bessus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not being inferiour to any other nacions in that parte of the worlde, either in men, in furniture, or largenes of theire terrytory, gaue a great encourage vnto theire wicked disposicions in attempting of this matter. For they possessing the thirde parte of *Asia*, were able to make as great numbre of men, as Darius before had losse. In confidence wherof theye not onelye despised Darius, but Alexander him selfe, purposing when they were once become Lordes of that countrey, to reẽforce from thence agayne the power of the Empire, and maintaine the warres against the Macedons. When they had long deuised, & debated these thinges, theye determined to take Dari⁹, by ỹ Bactriã souldiers, of whõ they had the rule, & then to send word to Alexander that they reserued them on line, to deliuer him vnto his handes. And if so bee ỹ Alexander shoulde not accept theire doing, which in dede they doubted) thẽ theire purpose was to kil Dari⁹, & with theire power to flye into *Bactria*. But forsomuch as they sawe that Darius could not be taken openly, seing ther were so many thousãds ready to ayd him: and fearing also ỹ fidelity of the

Greekes, determined to worke by sleighte, the thinge that they could not bring to passe by force. Their deuise was to counterfeit a repentaunce of their former doinges, in excusinge vnto the king the fear they were in. And in the meane season they sent certeine to practise with the Persians, and to proue their mindes. The souldiers were tossed to and fro with hope and fear. Som tyme they thought that by leuynge of there king, they should commit thē selues to manifest ruine and destruction: & againe they remembred what entertainement was promised thē in *Bactria* that laye open for them, where they shoulde be receaued with suche gyftes and ryches as theye coulde not well imagine. Whiles Bessus & Nabarzanes were beatinge of these thinges in their heades, Artabasus came vnto them, declaring how Darius was wel pacified, and that they might if they would, be in the same estate and degree wythe hym that they were in before. Therevpon they fell to weapinge and purginge of them selues, requiring Artabazus that he would take vpon him the defence of their cause, and carye their request and submission vnto the king. The night was consumed in this kinde of busines. When yt

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was daye Nabarzanes with the Bactrian souldiers stoode at the entrey of the kinges lodginge, colouring his priuy treason with a solempe pretence of doynge hys ductye. Darius caused warninge to be geeuen for his remoue, and so mounted vpon his chariot after his accustomed maner. Nabarzanes and the other traytours fell vppon the ground to worshyp him, and shed teares in token of repentaūce, notwithstanding that they determined shortly after to put him in fetters: mens nature is so apte to dissimulacion. Darius beinge of a simple and gentle nature, was enforced throughe their behauour not only to beleue that they pretended, but also caused him to weepe for ioye: yet that could not cause the traitors to alter theire purpose, when they perceiued what kynde of manne, and what maner of prince they went aboute to deceiue. Darius doubtinge nothinge of his perill that was next at hande, made all the haste he coulde to escape Alexander, whom he onelye doubted. Patron that was capitaine of the Greciās commaunded his souldiers to put on theyre harneys, whiche they caried before in trusses. and to be readye and attende to euerye thinge that should be appointed them. For

he

he vnderstanding the treason that Bessus went about, folowed the kings chariot seeking occasion to speake with him. And Bessus doubting the same thing, would not depart from the Chariot, but followed rather as a watche, then a wayter. Patron therefore hauing taryed long, and interupted oftentimes as he was about to speake, stoode in a stay betwirte feare and fidelitie, beholding the king in the face. When Darius perceiued that he beheld him after ỳ maner, he willed Bubace his Eunuche that rode next him to enquire of Patron if hee hadde anye thing to say to him. Patron sayde yee: but his matter was suche as hee would no man should heare. Then he was willed to come neare, and without any interpretour (Darius vnderstandyng somwhat of ỳ Greeke tongue) Patron sayde vnto hym. Syr of fyfty thousand Greekes that serued you, there is a small number of vs remaynyng, whiche haue continually followed you in all fortunes, bearing vnto you the same fidelitie and affection that wee did in your most flouryshing estate. And are determined whersoeuer you be, to take that for our countrey, and home: bothe prosperitye and aduersitie hathe so coupled vs together. By whiche inuincible fydelitie that is in vs, I desire you, and require you, that you woulde vouchesafe to lodge wythin oure campe, and suffer vs to bee the guard of your person. Wee haue lost *Greece*, wee haue no *Bactria* to go vnto

vnto, all oure hope is in you, and God graunt that all other men had the lyke. It is not necessarye I shoulde speake anye more, nor woulde not demaund the custody of youre persone beeing an alyen and a straunger, yf I knewe that others were wel minded towardes you. Although Bessus was ignorannt of the Greeke tongue, yet his conscyence pryched hym to beleeue that Patrõ had disclosed some suche matter, and therefore carying alwaye some parte of his wordes, by a Greeke interpretour, became out of doubt. Dariꝰ nothing afraid as it appeared by his countenaunce, enquired of Patron, what moued him to geue him such aduise? Wherupon hee thoughte not good to differre it any longer, but sayde: Bessꝰ and Mabarzanes worke treason against you, so that youre life and your estate stande in extreme perill, and this daye shalbe the laste either to ỹ traitours, or to you. Whose wordes if Darius had well wayed and regarded, Patron had receyued great glory of the preseruation of his prince. But let thẽ mock that lyst, whiche be perswaded that the state of manne is gouerned at aduenture and by chaunce: but I beleeue that euery man runneth his race by an immutable order, and an euerlasting appointmẽt, by a knitting together of causes vnknowẽ apoited lõg before.

Darius

Darius aunſwer was: that although the fidelitie of the Greeke ſouldiers was ſuffycyently knowen vnto him, yet he was determined neuer to depart from his owne nacion, by whom thoughe hee might be deceyued, yet it was hard for him to miſtruſt thē: whatſoeuer ſhould chāce to him he ſaid, he was minded rather to ſuffer it amōgſt his owne ſubiects, then to part away from thē, not deſiring to liue, if his owne ſouldiers deſired not his ſauegarde Wherupon Patron deſpeiring of the kyngs wel doing, returned them, of whom he had the charge ready to aduenture anye thing for his ſake. Beſſus in the mean ſeaſon had vtterly determined to ſlea Darius, but fearing that he could not winne Alexāders fauour except he deliuered his enemye into his handes aliue, differred his purpoſe to the night following. In the mean ſeaſon hee came to Darius, and gaue him thankes that he had ſo warely and with ſuche wiſedome auoided the treaſon of that falſe Grecian, whoe beeing corrupted by Alexander, ſought nothing but how to make a preſent of his head: wherat (he ſaide) hee coulde not marueile ỹ a Mercenary man ſhould leaue any thing vndon for money, being without any pledge of his honeſty, without houſe & home, baniſhed out of the worlde, a faynte frend, and a doubtful enemye, tolled here & there at the backe of all men, that will corrupte

Beſſus determins to ſlea Darius.

rupt him. And then he fel to purging of him selfe, calling the Goddes of hys countrey to witnes of his innocency in the matter. Darius by his countenaunce seemed to beleeue him: yet he doubted not of the trueth of the tale that Patron had tolde him: but he was come to suche a point, that it was as daungerous for him not to beleue his owne men, as to be deceiued. Ther were xxx. thousand, whose lightnes was feared to haue consented to this conspiracy: and Patron had but fower thousand, to whom if he had cõmytted his sauegarde, & thereby condempned ỹ fidelitie of his owne nacion, he sawe ỹ then theye might haue had thereof a goodlye colour and a pretence to perfourme the thyng they went about, and therefore chose rather to be killed innocently, then to geue any occasion wherby he shoulde seeme to haue deserued death. And yet when Bessus purged himselfe, he aunswered: that he knew ther was no lesse iustice in Alexander then manhode, and that they were deceiued that looked for any reward of treason at his hãds, knowing there was noe surer punisher nor reuenger of the breach of fidelitie. When ỹ night drew neare, the Persians after theire accustomed maner put of their armor, and repaired

repaired to the nert villages to prouide thin
ges necessary. But the Bactrians as Bes-
sus had commaunded them) stoode still ar-
med. In the meane season Darius had sent
for Artabasus, and shewed hym what Pa-
tron had declared. Whereupon Artabasus
made no doubt, but that he shoulde streight
waies commit him selfe among ỹ Grekes,
thinkyng that the Persians when the kyn-
ges peril should be published abroad, would
ioine with the Grecians. Yet Darius pre-
destinate to his chaunce, could not beare thẽ
any wholesome counsel, nor sought for any
helpe in that case, but embraced Artabasus
as though hee shoulde neuer see him more, &
being wet with the teares that one of them
let fall vpon an other, caused Artabasus to
be remoued from him, & because hee would
not see his sorow in departing from him, he
couered his face, and fell flat vpon ỹ groũd.
Then such as were accustomed to ỹ guard
of his pso, which should haue ben his defẽce
in al perils, fled away, thinking thẽ selues
ouer weake for such a numbre of armed mẽ
as they supposed to be comming. Thẽ there
was great solitarines within his lodgyng:
for none remayned aboute the kyng, but a
fewe Eunuches, that hadde noe place to re-

paire vnto. Then hee debated and deuised wyth hym selfe alone, sometyme one thing, and sometime another: and by and by hee ware wearye of that solitarines which before he tooke for a comforte, and called Bubace vnto hym, whom hee beheld and seyd: Go prouide for your selues, whiche according to your duties haue been true to youre prince tyll the last hower. Heare I do tarye for the fatall lawe of my desteny. Peraduenture ye do maruaile that I do not end mine owne life. I had rather dy through other mennes wickednesse, then bye myne owne. After those wordes, Bubace filled bothe the kinges lodging, and also the whole campe with mourning & lamentacion, and dyuers brake into the place where Darius was, & tearing their clothes, bewayled his case, wt a great lamentacion. When the crye came vnto the Persians, they were so amased for feare, that they durste neither put on theire armour, least they might geue occasion to ỹ Bactrians to set vpon them, nor they could not remaine quiet, least they might seeme so wickedlye to leaue their king. There were clamours throughout the campe of dyuers sortes and tunes, wout any head, & wonte anye appointment. Suche as perteined to Nabarzanes and Bessus, deceyued by such lamentacyon as theye hearde, broughte tydynges to the reste, that the kynge

had

had killed him ſelfe. Whereupon they repaired thither ſo faſt as they could gallop, and ſuche followed after, as they had choſen to be miniſters of their miſchiefe. When they were entered into the kinges pauilion, becauſe the Eunuches declared that hee was on liue, they commaũded him to be bound. Thus he which before was caryed in a chariot, and honoured of his men lyke a God, was made priſoner by his owne ſeruaunts without any foreine power, and put into a byle cart couered ouer with beaſts ſkinnes: and ſpoile was made of the kinges ſtuffe, in ſuch ſort, as if it had been taken in the warres. And when theye had laden them ſelues with the pray gotte afterſo foule a maner, they cõueyed thẽ ſelues into their coũtreis. But Artabaſus with thoſe of whõ he had ẏ charge, & with the Greeke ſouldiers, tooke the way towardes *Parthina*, thinkyng to be more ſure any where, then in the felowſhip of thoſe traitours. The Perſians whom Beſſus had burdened with ſo manye faire promiſes, ſpecially becauſe they had no other man ſo follow, ioined them ſelues to ẏ Bactrians, and ẏ third day ouertoke them. But to the entent Darius ſhould not want ſuch honor as was due vnto his eſtate, Beſſus

cauſed

caused him to be bound with golde fetters: suche were the despytes that hys Fortune made hym subiecte vnto. And for that he shoulde not be knowen by hys apparayle, they couered the carte withe foule hydes of beasts, and caused vnknowen men to driue it forwardes. And lest by inquerie in the armye he might be discouered, such as had the charge of him followed a farre of. When Alexander hearde that Darius was remoued to *Echatane*, he left ỹ way that he was in, and with all the speede he coulde make, followed after Darius that was saide to be gonne into *Media*. But when Alexander was come to *Taba*, whiche is the chiefe Citie of *Parataceū*, it was there shewed hym by fugitiues that came out of Darius cãpe, how he was fled with al spede into *Bactria*. And afterwardes vnderstoode the matter more certainlye by Bagistenes of *Babilon*, who coulde not affirme directlye that Darius was vsed as a prisoner, but declared ỹ either he was in daunger of death or of captiuitie. Alexander vpon those newes called his Capitaines together, and shewed them that he had a great enterprise, but suche one as the trauaile was very short. Darius (he saide) was not far of, forsaken of his owne

men, & either take as a prisoner or els slain. In whose person hee shewed the whole victory to consist, and the greatnes of the matter to be a reward sufficiēt of their haste making. They al cryed with one voice ỹ theye were ready to follow him where he would go, & that he should not spare theire labour nor their peril. Whereupon he conueyed his army forwardes with marueilous speede, rather in post, then after the cōmon order of marching, neither resting day nor night til they had passed. v. C. furlonges, & come to ỹ village where Darius was taken. There Melon Darius interpretour, who by reasō of his sicknes could not followe the armye, was taken thorough Alexanders celeritye, who seining that he fledde away from hys maister, declared the whole mater: but how great soeuer his desire was to ouertake hys enemies, it was necessarye for him to geeue his men rest of their trauaile: so that determining to leaue the rest of his army behind, did choose out fyre thousand horsemen, & added to them iiij. C. called *Dimichas* ỹ were footemen, heauye harnised, but yet rydyng on horsebacke, & when the matter and place required, lighted & fought on foote. When Alexander was takyng order aboute these

things:

kings: Orsellus & Mithracenes, whych for the hatred they bare to Bessus for his treason, fled frō him, declaring to ỹ kyng that ỹ Persians were but .v. C. furlongs of, & proffered to guide him by a nearer way. Their comming was grateful to the king: for by their conduction in ỹ beginning of ỹ night, he tooke his iourney wt̄ such horsemen as he had appointed, willing his foote battaile to follow after wt̄ al speede possible. Yee marched forwards in a square battaile, & kepte suche an order, ỹ the first might ioine wt̄ the last, & such as came behinde relieued them ỹ went before. When they had passed .ccc. furlongs on their way, Bioculus the sonne of Mazeus ỹ sometime had been gouernour of *Siria*, met Alexander, & declared ỹ Bessus was within two hundred furlonges, marching with hys men out of all order, as one that did cast no doubtes. It semed to him (he sayde) that theye went towardes *Hircania*: wherfore if haste were made, theye myghte sone be ouertakē, & foūd dispersed here and there out of al aray. And by reasō he affyrmed also ỹ Darius was yet aliue: Alexander ỹ was hoate before in his pursute, was wyth his wordes muche more pricked forwards, so ỹ hee caused thē to put spurres to

their horses, and passed forwardes a gallop going so farre forth, that they might heare the noyse of their enemies as they marched. But the dust ẏ did rise, dimmed their sight: & therfore he stayed a while til the dust was vanished away. Then both Bessus perceyued the Macedons, and they saw the Persians as they fled. Notwithstãding they had not ben able to haue matched with them, if Bessus had had as great courage to fighte, as he had to betray his maister. For besides that they exceded the Macedons in nombre & power, theye foreweried & sore trauailed, should haue had to do with them that were lusty and freshe. But the name of Alexander & his fame, whiche is of great moment euer in the warres, put them in suche feare that they could not stay them selues. Then Bessus & other that were partners of ẏ cõspiracy, came to the cart wher Dariꝰ was, & perswaded him to leap on horseback, and flye from his enemies that weare at hande. But hee crying out, that the Goddes were come to his reuenge, and calling for the assistaunce of Alexander, said: that in no wise he would go with traytours: wherewyth theye were so sturred to wrathe, that theye threw dartes at him and left him wounded

in

in many places of his body. They thrust in the beasts that drewe the carte, to thintent they should not be able to passe forwardes, & slew his two seruants that did wait vpon him. When they had cõmitted this act, they thought it expedient to dispearse themselues in their flying. And so Nabarzanes toke his way to *Hircania*, and Bessus to *Bactria* wt a fewe horsemen that eche of thẽ had in their company. When their souldiours were forsaken of their captaines: they scattered here and there, where hoape & feare did lead thẽ. There were onelye fiue hundred horsemen which assẽbled them selues together, & stode in a mammoring whether it were better to resist or to flye. Alexander vnderstanding ỹ feare his enemies were in, sente Nycanor before with part of his horsemẽ to kepe thẽ occupyed, & he with the rest folowed after. There were slaine to the nomber of. iij. M. of suche as stoode at their defence, & the rest were driuen in flockes like beastes: frõ killing of whom Alexander commaunded his men to abstaine. Amongst al the prisoners there was none that was able to shewe the Cart ỹ caryed Daryus: for euery one was so desirous to fynde him, that as they sawe any cart, they sought him therin: & yet theye

coulde perceiue bye noe meanes where her
was become. Alexander made suche haste ẏ
scarcely three thousand horsemen followed
him of al his numbre: but the great numbre
of the Persians fell into their lappes that fo
lowed behinde. It is scarcely credible to bee
beleued, that ther should be more prisoners
taken, then there were men to take them.
But fortune in that feare had so take away
their sence, that they could not consider their
owne multitude, nor the small number of
their enemies. In the mean season ẏ beasts
that drew Darius wagon, hauing no man
to gouerne them, were swarued out of the
highe waye, and wandering heare & there,
had drawen Darius fower furlonges from
the place where he was woũded, into a val
ley where theyr fainted, by reason of theire
heat and their hurtes. There was a spring
at hand, whiche certaine that knew ẏ coun-
trey had shewed to Polystratus a Macedõ,
that was ouercome for thirst. And whyles
he was drynking water out of hys helmet,
hee spyed the beastes that were thrust in w
dartes, and marueilyng that they were not
rather caryed awaye, then hurte after that
manner: Hee looked and found in the foule

carte

carte the body of a man halfe a liue, and at lengthe perceiued it was Darius that laye there sore wounded, and drawyng of hys breath. Then Polistratus brought to hym a Persian whō he had takē prisoner. Whō when Darius knewe by his voyce, to bee of his countrey, sayd: that hee tooke it for a cō-fort of his present fortune, that hee shoulde speake before he died to one that vnderstode him, and not vtter his last wordes in vaine. He required him to declare vnto Alexāder, that though he had neuer deserued any thing at his hādes, yet it was his chaūce to die gretly his debtour, and had thankes to geue him, for the fauour and goodnes that he had shewed towards his mother, his wife, and his children, to whom he hadde not onelye graunted lyfe, but also the reuerence of their former estate and dignitie, whereas he of hys kinsmen and frendes, to whom he had geuen both lyfe and landes, was now by them bereeued of all. He prayed therfore ꝑ he might alwais be victor, and that the Empire of the whole worlde myghte come into his handes, requiringe that hee woulde not neglecte to take reuengeaunce of so foule an act, not onely for his cause: but for ensample and ꝑ loue of other princes: which should be a thyng honourable vnto him & profitable in tyme commyng. When he had spoken these wordes, he fayn-ted, & calling for water, after he had dronke, said to Polistratus ꝑ presented it vnto him: whatsoeuer ꝑ art, this is vnto me ꝑ last miserye in al my aduerse chaūce, ꝑ I am not able to requyte

the this benefit. But Alexander shal reward thee, & the godds shall requite him for his great humanitie and clemency shewed towards myne. Unto whom in my behalfe thou shalt geue my hande as pledge of a kinges promise. And hauing spokē these words, & geuen Polistratus his hand, he dyed. Whē his sayings were reported to Alexander, he repaired where the ded corps laye, and there bewayled with teares, that it was his chaūce to dy a death so vnworthy for so great an estate, & taking of his owne cloke to couer the dead corps withall, adorned the same with all thinges that pertayned to a king, & sent it to his mother Sisigābis to be buried, in such sort as the countrey maner was to bury kinges, and to be layde amongst the rest of his predecessours.

¶ *Here the first part of the sixt booke doth want, wherein was conteined the cause of the war betwixt the Lacedemonians and Macedons: wyth the preparacion of bothe nacions to the battayle that was fought bewixt Antipater Alexanders lieutenaunt in Macedonia, and Agis king of the Lacedemonians.*

¶The syxte booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, kyng of Macedon.

HE preased forwardes where the fight was moste daungerous, & seing suche as made most resystaunce, put the greater parte of his enemies to flight. The̅ such as were victorours before began to flye, till theye had drawen their enemies greedelye followyng them, out of the streight into a more playne ground. In the retire manye of them were slaine: but when they hadde once recouered such aground wher as they might stay and fall in order, the battailes ioyned equallye againe on both sides. Amongst them all, the king of the Lacedemonians appeared moste notable in al mens eies, not so much by the bewty of his armor and goodly personage, as through ỹ greatnes of his courage, wher in onely he could not be ouercome. Yce was layed to on all partes, both neare hande, & a farre of. Yet for all that, he endured long in armes againste his enemies, auoydynge their strokes part with his target, and part with his body, til such time as he was thrust through both thighes with a speare, whe̅ by great

great effusiõ of bloud he was not able any longer to endure the fight: Then the esquiers for his body toke him vp vppon his target, and caried him into their campe ỹ with great paine endured ỹ sturring of his woũdes. The Lacedemoniãs for al their kinges departure gaue not ouer the fighte, but assone as they coulde recouer any ground of aduauntage, they closed them selues in battaile together, and receiued stoutlye theire enemies that came full vpon them. Ther is not found in any memory, of a battail more vehemently fought then that, wher the armies of twoo nacions that weare moste excellent in the warres contended togethers for the victorye, not yet enclining to anye parte. The Lacedemonians called to mind their auncient manhode and prowes, and the Macedons considered theire presente estimacion they had in the worlde, the Lacedemonians strined for their libertie, and ỹ Macedons for the souereintie. The one partie lacked a captaine, and the other rowme to fight in. The manifolde aduentures and chaunces that fel that daye, encreased bothe the hope and feare of bothe parties: fortune as it were of purpose bringing suche valyaunt men to fight togethers, neyther of thẽ

preuay-

prenayling vpon other. But ỹ ſtreightnes of the place wherin they fought, did not ſuffer thẽ to ioine wỏ their whole force at once: for more were beholders then fighters, and ſuch as ſtode without daunger, encouraged the other wỏ their crie. At length the Lacedemonians began to faint, & ſcarcelye able for ſweating to ſuſtaine their armor, began to drawe backe, to haue the more liberty to flee from theire enemies that preaſed ſore vpon them. When they were once broken and ſcattered abroade, the victorours purſued after. And paſſyng the place wherupon the Lacedemonians battaile was firſt aranged, made a ſore purſute vppon Agis: who ſeing his men flying, & his enemies approche at hand, willed his men to ſet hym downe: where ſtretching him ſelfe, to feele if the force of his body coulde aunſwer vnto his harte, when he founde him ſelfe vnable to ſtande, remaynyng vpon his knees put on his helmet, and couering his bodye with his target: ſhaked his ſpeare & prouoked his enemies to draw neare, if any were deſirous of his ſpoile: but ther was not one ỹ preſſed neare him, but did caſt dartes a far of, whiche hee alwayes tooke and threwe at his enemies againe, tyll ſuch time as he

was

was thrust into the bare brest with a spere. But when the same was pulled oute of the wound, he fainted, & bowing him self vpon his target, shortlye after fell downe dead, bloud & life failling bothe together. There were slaine of the Lacedemonians. v. M. iij. C. xl. and of the Macedõs not passing iij. C. But there was scarcely anye of thẽ that escaped vnwounded. This victory brake ỹ hartes not onelye of the Lacedemonians & of their confederats, but also of other which lay in wayte looking for the successe of that warre. Antipater was not ignorant howe the countinaũces of such as did gratify his victory, differed muche from the entents of their harts: but desirous to finishe the wars that was begon, perceiued it necessarye for him to dissemble and suffer him selfe to bee deceyued. And though he reioysed muche in the fortune of the thing, yet he feared ỹ enuye that might ensue thereof, being a greater matter then the estate of a lieutenaunt did beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, ỹ hee desired ỹ his enemies had wõne the victory, shewing manifestly ỹ hee was not cõtẽted with Antipaters good successe: thynkyng ỹ what honour soeuer chaunced to any other man was a derogacion to hys

owne

owne glory. Antipater therfore which knew full wel his stomake, durst not vse the victory according to his owne will, but assēbled a councel of Greekes, to aduise what theye thoughte expedient. The Lacedemonians made no other request, but ỹ they might sēd Embassadours vnto Alexander, which vpō their repaire to him and their sute made, obtained a general pardon for al men, sauing for such as were the authours of the rebellion. The Megapolitans, whose citie did abide the siege were compelled to paye as a fine for their rebellion. xx. talents to the Athenians, & the Aetolians. This was ỹ end of the warre, which being sodeinlye begon was ended before that Alexander had ouerthrowen Darius at *Arbella*. Allone as hys minde was deliuered of those present cares, as one that coulde beare better the warres then quietnes, hee gaue him selfe al to pleasures, by the vices wherof ensuing he was ouercome, whom no power of ỹ Persians or any other was able to subdue. Hee was geuen to banqueting oute of seasō, and to a fond delight of drynkyng and watchyng in plaies among flockes of Concubines, that drew him into straunge manners and customes. Which he following as thyngs bet-

Allone and exempt from forowe rayse hys hand of vse hys mighty & acte

ter

ter then his countrey vſages, offended therby greatlye both the eies and the hartes of his nacion, and cauſed many that loued him before entirely, to hate him then as an enemie. For the Macedons that were obſtinat in keapinge theire owne diſcipline, and accuſtomed not to be curious, but ſo ſcarce in theire diet as myghte ſuffice nature, when they ſawe him go aboute to bringe in amonges them the vices of thoſe nacions whiche they had ſubdued: conſpiracies then beganne to be made againſt him, mutenis roſe amonges the ſouldiers, and euerye one complaining to another, freely vttered their griefs, wherby he was prouoked to wrath, to ſuſpicion and ſodeine feare, diuers other inconueniences enſuinge therupon, whiche ſhalbe declared hereafter. Alexander being geuen as it hath bene ſaide before to vnreaſonable banquetinge, wherin he conſumed both daye and nyght: When he was ſatiſfied of eatinge and drinkinge, paſſed ouer the tyme wythe playes and paſtymes. And not contented with ſuche muſicians as he broughte out of *Greece*, cauſed the weomen that were captiue, to ſinge before him ſuche ſonges as abhorred the eares of ỹ Macedōs not accuſtomed to ſuche thinges. Emonges

thoſe

those women Alexander spyed one more sadde then the rest, whiche with a certayne shamefastnes didde striue with them that brought her fourthe. She was of excellent bewty, and throughe her shamefastnes her bewtie was augmented. Because shee dyd cast her eies towardes the earth, couering her face so muche as she might: gaue suspicion for him to thinke that she was come of greater nobilitie, then that she ought to be brought in to suche kinde of pastimes. And therfore beinge demaunded what she was: shee shewed her selfe to be the neece of Ochus that lately raigned in *Perse*, and the wife of Hystaspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had beene his lieuetenaunt ouer great armies. There yet remayned in the kynges hart some smale sparkes of his former vertue. For in respecte of her estate beinge come of a kynges bloude, and the reuerence he bare to suche a name, as ẏ neece of Ochus, cõmaũded her not only to be set free, but also to be restored to her goodes & her husband, whom he willed to be soughte out. The nert day he appointed Ephestion to bring al ẏ prisoners vnto ẏ court, where enquering of ẏ nobilitie of euery one, cõmãded thẽ which were descẽded of noble bloud to be seuered frõ ẏ reste, amõges whõ they

founde

founde Dratres brother to Darius, ỹ was no lesse noble of minde then of bloud. Ther was made of the last spoile.xxvi.M. talẽts, whereof.xij.M. were consumed in rewards amonges the men of warre: and the sume amounted to no lesse value that was conueyed awaye by them that had the kepinge thereof. There was one Oridates a noble man of *Perse* that was put in prison by Darius, and appointed to suffer death, whome Alexander deliuered, and gaue vnto hym ỹ seignorie of *Media*, and receyued Darius brother amonges ỹ number of his frendes, reseruinge to him all the accustomed honor of his nobility. Then they came to the coũtrey of *Parthenia*, then beinge but obscure & vnknowen: but nowe the head of all those countreis which lie vpon *Tigre* & *Euphrates*, and be bounded withe the redde sea. This countrey beinge frutefull and aboundante of all thinges was taken by the Scithians, which possessinge parte of *Asia* & *Europe*, be troublous neighbours to them bothe. The Scithians, which inhabite vpon ỹ *Bospheron* sea are ascribed to be in *Asia*. And suche as be in *Europe* possesse the countreis lyinge on the lefte of *Thrace*, so farre as *Boristhenes*: & from thence ryght forth so farre as ỹ riuer

Thanais,

Thanais, that parteth *Europe* and *Asia*. It is certayne that the Scythes, of whome the Persians be dyscended, came not frome *Bospheron*, but oute of *Europe*. There was a noble citie in those dates called *Hecatonphilos* builded by the Greekes, where Alexãder remained with his armye, conueyinge vitailes thether from all partes. Emonges the souldiers liynge theire in idlenes, there rose sodainely a rumoure, entered into their heades without any certaine autour or beginninge. The rumor was, how that Alexander satisfyed with the actes he had done, pourposed immediatelye to retourne into *Macedon*. Thys fame was not so soone sowen abroade, but that they ranne lyke madde men to their lodginges, and trussed vp their baggage and their stuffe: makinge suche preparacion to depart, that euery mã iudged warninge hadde beene geuen to remoue, and that the thing had beene done by appointment. The tumult that dyd ryse in the campe by lading of cariages, and by the callinge the one made vnto another, came vnto the kinges eares. This rumour obteined the sooner creditte, by the dispatche of certain Greeke souldiers, whome Alexãder had dismissed into their countrey, with the

gift of vi. thousand deniers to euery horseman: thereupon taking occasion to thinke that the warre had ben at an ende. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into *India* & the vttermost boundes of the *Orient*, was no lesse afraied of this matter, then the case required. And therfore calling before him ȳ captaines of his armye, with the teares in his eies made a great cõplaint vnto them: that in the middle course of his glorye hee should thus be pulled backe, and compelled to retourne into his countrey rather as a man vanquished then as a victorer. Which misfortune (he sayed) he coulde not impute to his souldiers, nor iudge ȳ their cowardnes did geue impedimẽt to his procedings, but that it was only the enuy of the Gods, that put so sodaine a desire of their coũtrey into the myndes of valyaunt men, whyche within a while shoulde haue retourned w̃ greater glory and fame. Therupon they al promised to trauaile in reformacion of the matter, offering themselues in all thynges (were they neuer so difficult) to doe as he would haue them. And they promised also, the obedience of the souldiers, if so be that he woulde make some gentle and apte oracion to pacifie them: whyche were neuer

yet

yet seene departe from him in any desperation or disturbance of mynd, if they once beholde the chearfulnes of his countenaunce, and the courage proceding from his harte. He promised so to do, and required at their hand to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to geue him eare. When all thinges were prepared whiche were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all his armye togethers, & made this Oration vnto thē. When ye consider (my souldiours) the greatnesse of the actes whiche ye haue done, and the manyfold conquestes that ye haue made, it is no marualle at all, that ye be enclyned to quietnes, and fully satisfied with fame, and glory. For leauyng to speake of the *Illirians*, & *Triballes*, of *Bretia*, *Thracia*, and *Sparta*, of the *Acheians*, and *Peloponesians*, whome I haue subdued, part in person and the rest by appointment: I will not make rehersall of ỹ warre we began at *Hellespont*, and how we deliuered from the intollerable seruitude of the barbarian nations *Ionas*, and *Acolides*, and gote vnto our possession both *Caria*, *Lcdia*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrigia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Pamphilia*, *Pisides*, *Cilicia*, *Siria*, *Phenices*, *Armenia*, *Perse*, *Mede*, and *Parthema*. we haue gotten more countreys then other haue taken Cities: and yet (I am sure) the multitude haue caused me to leaue some of them vnrehearsed. If I coulde thynke that the possession of these landes that wee haue conquered in so shorte tyme coulde remayne sure vnto vs: then (my souldiours) I woulde, though it were agaynste your wylles, breake from you to visite my house & my home, to see my mother, my sisters, and my countrey men, to enioye there the laude & glory that I

haue gotten with you: where as the ioyfull conuersacion of our wyues, our chyldrē and parents, peace, quyetnes, and a sure possession of thynges gotten through our valyantnes do tarrye for vs, as large rewardes of our victory. But if wee will confesse the truth, this newe empyre whiche wee haue not yet at commaundement, but is kepte as it were by waye of entreatye, doth requyre a tyme, that this stiffe necked people may learne to beare our yoke, and by frampyng their disposicions to a more humanitie, bring their cruel nature to a more ciuile conuersacion. Do we not see that the corne in the fielde asketh a time for hys ryping, & though the same bee without sence, yet hath it his course to bee brought to perfection. Do you beliue that so manye Nations not agreing with vs in religion, in custome, nor in vse of tongue, accustomed to the empyre and name of another man, will be conquered and brought to subiection with the wynnyng of one battaile? No trust mee, they be kepte vnder with the feare of our power, and do not obey vs of theire owne good willes. And they which shew you obedience when ye be heare emōgest them, when you bee absent will bee your enemies. You must thinke that ye haue to do with wylde beastes, whiche being fierce of nature whē they bee firste taken, must bee shutt vp and tamed with tyme. Hitherto I haue reasoned with you as though we had conquered the whole dominion that pertained to Darius, whiche is nothing so. For Nabarzanes possesseth *Hyrcania*, and the traytour Bessus not onely enioyeth *Bactria*, but also threateneth vs. The Sogdians, Dahans, Massegetes, Sagans, and the Indians, remaine yet in their owne libertie and iurisdiccion, whiche shall not see our backes so soone turned, but they will folowe vs in the tayles. They all haue a certeyne frendship and amitie one with another: but wee

bee

bee all straungers & forreyners vnto them. There is no creature, but that will more gladly be obedient to rulers of his owne nation, then to forreyners, be their gouernement neuer so terrible. Wee are driuen of necessitie therefore to winne that we haue not, or els to lose that we haue already gotten. As Phisicions in sicke bodyes will leaue no humour that may hurte: so lykewise we must cast awaye whatsoeuer shalbee impediment vnto our empire. Haue you not seene greate fyres risen of small sparkes not regarded? We maye not neglect any thing in our enemies; whome the more wee despise, the more strong we make them. And because you shall not thinke it suche an impossibilitie for Bessus to make him self king, where as a king wanteth, you shall vnderstand that Darius came not to his empyre by inheritaunce, but got into y seate of Cyrus by the benefite of Bagoas hys Eunuche. We commit an heynous offence (my souldiours) if we make warre againste Darius, & put him downe for the intent to geue hys kyngdome vnto hys seruaunt: yea, and to suche one as attempted so vyle an acte againste his maister, at suche a tyme as he had most neede of helpe, and whome wee being his enemies woulde haue spared: he being his subiect, put him in chaines as a captiue, and finally slewe him because he shoulde not be preserued by vs. Shall you suffer this kind of man to raygne? no let vs make all the speede wee may to see him crucified, and so to shewe vnto all kinges and nations a Justice done vppon one, that so vilely falsified his fayth. If the reporte should come vnto you beyng in your owne countreyes, that the same man were destroiyng of the Grecke Citie about *Hellespont*: O God howe sory woulde you bee then, and howe muche woulde you lament that Bessus shoulde enioye that you haue gotten, and vsurpe the rewardes of your

victory? Then wouldē you make hast to recouer your owne, then wouldē you bende your selues to the warres. But howe muche better is it nowe to oppresse hym whyles he remaineth in such feare, and is vncertein what waye to take? Shall wee spare to spende iiij. dayes iourney to come to hym, that haue ouertroden such snowes, that haue passed so manye ryuers, that haue clymmed so many Mountaynes? to whose iourney the flowing sea could be no impediment, nor the streight of *Cilicia* could shutt vp our waye? Nowe all thinges are made playne and open, and we stande in the entery of our victory. There be but a fewe fugitiues and kyllers of their masters that do remayne. What more notable worke can you leaue vnto your posteritie, to be registred by fame vnto your glorye, then to reuenge suche as were traytours to Darius? You shall thereby shewe that when you were enemies vnto hym, yet your hatred ended w̄ his death, and that no wicked man coulde escape your handes. Whiche thing if you bring to passe, howe much more obedient do you think the Persians shalbe vnto you, when they perceiue you to take iuste warres in hande, and that it was not Bessus name wherewith ye were offended: but with his faultes and euill doynges. His Oration was receiued of the Souldiours wyth such gladnes, that they streight waies desired hym to cary them whether he woulde. And he ỹ could vse the occasiō of their good moode, passed through *Parthenia*, & came to the boundes of *Hircania*, leauing Craterus with the band, whereof he had the rule, & vi.M. horsemen, of whom Amintas had

the

the charge, with ỹ like number of Archers, to defende *Parthenia* from the incursion of the barbarous nacions. Ye apointed Erigonus a small power to attende vpon his cariages: willing him to passe wyth them through the plaine countrey, and he hym selfe with his footemen, and with the rest of his horsemen, marched forwardes. C. fyfty furlonges, and encamped in a valley at the entrey of *Hircania*. In the same place bee great woodes full of hyghe and thicke trees, and the bottome of the valley is very frutefull, by reason of the springes that come fourth of the rockes. Out of the foote of the mountaynes there ryseth a ryuer called *Ziaberis*, which wythin three furlonges of the head, is deuyded by a rocke, standing in the middes of the streame, causing the water to go two sundrye wayes: Whyche afterwardes commyng agayne into one chanell, runneth more vyolentlye then before, by reason of the fall from the rockes. And sodainlye it sinketh into the ground, and so runneth hidden by the space of cc. furlonges, and then commeth fourth agayne, as it were out of a new spring, beyng then in bredth fifty furlonges, and as it runneth forwards, dyalweth more narow,

and falleth into another ſtreame named *Rhydago*. The inhabitours of the countrey affirmed that all thinges caſt in where the ſtreame ſonke into the grounde, would appeare and come out agayn at the nert iſſue. For the prouing of which concluſion, Alexander cauſed ij. Bulles to be caſt in, where the water entered, whoſe bodies were foūd by ſuch as were appointed for the purpoſe, where the ſtreame brake out agayne. In this place he refreſhed his army iiij. daies: duryng which tyme Nabarzanes (whyche was confederate wyth Beſſus in killyng of the kyng) dyd write letters to hym, in effect, howe that he was no enemy vnto Darius, but counſailed him euer to do ſuch thynges as he iudged moſte profitable: and for his faythfull counſaile was put in daunger of his lyfe by hym, who went about againſt all reaſon to committ the cuſtody of his perſon to ſtraungers, condempning thereby the fidelitie of his owne nation, whiche they had kepte vnſpotted towardes their kynges the ſpace of CCxxx. yeres: Therfore ſeing hym ſelfe in that perill and daunger, tooke counſaile of his preſent neceſſitie. And alleged that it was alwaies admitted lawfull for a man to kyll ſuch one whome he knewe to conſpire his death, whyche was an excuſe (he ſayed) wherewith Darius ſatiſfied the people, when he had ſlayne Bagoas. He alleged that nothyng was more deare to mortall creatures then lyfe, for the loue whereof hee was driuen to this extremitie, in committing an acte

which

whiche neceſſitie rather compelled him to do, then his owne diſpoſition. For in a generall calamitie euery man hath his fortune. If he woulde commaunde him to come to his preſence, he ſayde he would not refuſe to do it: for he coulde not feare that ſo great a kyng woulde violate his promyſe, ſeeing one God is not wont to deceiue another. But if he ſhoulde ſeeme vnworthy to whome he would geue his aſſuraunce, there were many countreys for him to flye vnto. For all men hauyng vertue in them, count alwaies that for their countrey, where they make theire dwellinge place. Alexander made no ſtaye to geue hym his fayth, after ſuch ſorte as the Perſians vſed to receiue promiſe: whiche was, ſaufely to come and go. Notwithſtanding he marched in order of battaile, ſending euer ſcourers before to diſcouer the grounde. The lyght armed were appointed to ỹ vaward: the Phalanx folowed after, & the baggage behynde. For by reaſon the ſame was a warlike nation, and the countrey harde to enter vpon: it cauſed the king to looke earneſtly vpon the matter. The ſame valley ſtretcheth out to the *Caſpian* ſea, the bankes therof reſembling the hornes of the Moone before it commeth to the full, the ſea lyyng betwirt them like a great Bay. Vppon the left hande the people inhabite that be called *Cercetes*, which lye open towardes ỹ North, and vppon the other part the Leucoſyrians,

Moſynes,

Mossynes, & Chalibes, and the plaines of ỹ Amazones lye towardes the West. Thys sea whiche some call the *Caspian*, and some the *Hircanian* sea, being more swete then any other, bringeth fourthe Serpentes of a wonderfull bignes, and fishes differing in colour much from all the rest. There be diuers of opinion ỹ the lake of *Meotis* should runne into this sea, whiche they conjecture of the water, thinking the same to receyue his swetenes of the lake. Towardes the North the sea groweth into a flatt shore, & putteth fourth his waters farre vppon the lande, whiche rysing high, make manye meares & plashes. And as by certain course of the planets they flowe out, so at a certen time by an ebbe, they returne in againe, restoring the grounde to his former estate. Some beliue those waters to be no parcell of the *Caspian* sea, but that they come out of *Inde*, and runne into *Hircania*, which lyeth low in the foresaid valley. The kynge being remoued from that place, marched forwardes xx. furlonges in a wilde deserte waye, where great woodes hong continually ouer their heades, & brookes of water and myre gaue great impediment to theire iourney. But at length without any impediment

diment of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a more faire countrey: wherin besides other victualles (whereof it did habound) grew great plentie of apples, & the ground was very apt for vynes. There were also plēty of a certein kynd of trees much like vnto Okes, whose leaues were couered with hony, whiche ỹ inhabitours gather before the sonne rysyng: for els the moysture would bee dryed vp with the heate. When Alexander had passed.xxx furlonges more forwards, Phrataphernes met him, yelding both him self, & such other as fled away after Darius death, whom he receiued gentely, & came to a towne called *Arnas*. Thither came Craterus & Erigon⁹ bringing with them Phradates that had ỹ rule of the *Tapurians*: whose frendly receyuing & gentle entertainment was the cause ỹ many followed his example, in cōmitting themselues to Alexanders mercy. Menape was there made Prince of *Hircania*: who being a banished man in ỹ time of Oechus came to king Philip for refuge: and Phradates also was restored to the office he had before. When Alexander was come to the vttermost boundes of *Hircania*: Artabazus whom we declared to shew himself alway

to

to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen and children, & with a small band of Greeke souldiours. The king at his cõming proffered him his hande, because hee had beene entertayned before by king Philip, when he was banished by Ochus: but the chiefe cause that he accepted him so wel was for the continuall fidelitie that he obserued towardes his prince. He being thus gently receiued by Alexander, sayed vnto him: Syr long may you florishe & reigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioyce in al other things, with one am chiefely grieued, ỹ by reason of myne olde age, I shall not be hable long to enioye your goodnes. He was lxxxv. yeres of age, & brought with him ix. sonnes borne of one mother, whom he presented before the king, praying God to continue their lyues so long as their seruice myght bee acceptable vnto him. Alexander was accustomed muche to walke on foote, but then lest the olde man might be ashamed to ryde, he going on foote, called for horses for them both. When he was encamped he sent for the Greekes that Artabazus brought. But they made request first that he would geue assurance to the Lacedemonians ỹ were emonges them, or els they would take aduise emonges them selues what were best to do: The same were the Embassadours ỹ the Lacedemonias had sent vnto Darius:

which

which after the battell, ioyned themselues to the Greekes that were in Darius wages. The king willed them to leaue all assurances & compositions, & come to receyue such appointment as he would geue them. They stood long in a stay varying in oppinions: but at length they agreed so to do: sauing Democrates of *Athens*, whyche chiefly had euer oppugned the succesſe of ỹ Macedon, who dispairing of pardon slewe him selfe. But the other, as they had determined, submitted them selues to Alexanders will, being r.M. v.C. in number, besydes iiij.score and r. of suche as were sent Embassadours vnto Darius. The more parte of the Souldiers were distributed emonges the bandes to fill vp the nũbers ỹ wanted, & the rest were sent home, except the Lacedemonians, whiche he commaunded to be put in prison. There was a natiõ called *Mardons* bounding next to *Hircania*, rude in their maners and vsages, accustomed to liue by theft: They neyther sent Embassadours, nor gaue any signification that they would be at Alexanders cõmaũdement; he tooke therat great indignation that anye one people shoulde giue impediment to his victory, and therefore leuing a

guarde

guarde for his cariages, went against them with a strōg powre. He marched forwards in the nighte, and by the time that the daye appeared, his enemies were in syghte. But the matter came rather to a larme then to anye fyght. For the enemies were sone driuen from the hilles, who flying away, lefte their villages to be sacked by the Macedōs. But the armye coulde not passe into the inward partes of the countrey without great trouble and veracion, the same being compassed aboute with high mountaines, great woodes & desert rockes, & the partes whiche were plaine were defended with a strange kind of fortificacion, ỹ is to saye with trees set thicke of purpose, the boughes whereof when they were yong, were wreathed one within another: The toppes bowed downe were put into ỹ ground againe, frō whēce as oute of another roote there sprong newe branches. They would not suffer the same to growe as nature brought them fourthe, but did knit them so one with another, that when they were ful of leaues, they couered cleane the earth. The trées thus wreathed one with another, enclosed in the countrey as it were with a cōtinual hedge, & were as snares to entāgle such as would go aboute

to

to enter. There was no way could be deuised to passe throughe the same, but onely by cuttinge downe of the woode. And therein they founde a greate difficultie and muche trauaile by reason that the wreathing and wrappinge together of the boughes kepte them of from the bodyes of the trees, and the weaknes of the boughes so yelded to ỹ strokes, that they coulde not easely be cut a sunder: The inhabiters of ỹ countrey were accustomed to creape amonges the brushe lyke wylde beastes, and by priuye salies breake oute vpon their enemies. Alexander therefore caused his men after the maner of hunters to seeke out their lurkinge places, and killed many of them. But at length he enuironed the woode withe hys souldyers rounde aboute, to thyntent they myghte breake in at euery place, where they should spye anye entre. In doynge whereof, many wandred and losse their company in places that they knewe not, and were taken prisoners: and amonges them Bucephalus Alexaunders horse, whome he dydde not esteeme as menne doo other beastes: for hee woulde not suffer anye other man to leape vpon him: and when the king would ryde

ride he would kneele down vpon his knees to receiue him, so that he seemed to haue the sence to vnderstande whom he caried. Alexander was more sorowfull, and sturred to a greater wrathe for the losse of the horse, then was expedient for such a cause: for serchinge about to get the horse againe, caused proclamaciō to be made by an interpretor, that except he were restored, he wouldde not leaue one of the countrey men aliue. Whē they heard this terrible threatning, amōgs other giftes, they presented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not therewith pacified, but commaunded the woodes to be cutte downe, and the wayes to be made playne which he cutte throughe the woodes. This worke went so well forwarde, that the inhabiters dispairinge of habilitie to defende theire countrey, yelded themselues to the kinge. Who receiuinge their pledges, committed them to the kepinge of Phradates, and from thence the fyfth day retourned agayne to hys campe. There he gaue to Artabasus the double honour that Daryus dyd vnto him, & sent him home againe into his coūtrey. After that he came to ỹ citie of *Hircania*, where Daryus Palace was, Nabarzanes vpō assurance came thither, bringe

ging with him great giftes, and emonges ȳ reſt preſented vnto Alexander Bagoas an Eunuche of ſinguler beuty, being in ȳ firſt flower of youthe, whome Darius accuſtomed, and after Alexander: at whoſe interceſſion ſpecialy he did pardon Mabarzanes. The nation of the *Amazons* being neare vnto *Hircania* (as hath beene ſaied before) did inhabite ȳ plaines of *Themyſcire* about the ryuer of *Thermodoonta*, & had a Queene reigninge ouer them called Thalestris, which kept vnder her dominion all ȳ countreies betwene the Mounte *Caucaſus*, & the ryuer of *Phaſis*. Shee for the great affectiō ſhee had to ſee Alexander, trauailed out of her owne countrey, and being come neare wher he was, ſent certein before, to declare that a Queene was come of deſire to viſite him, and to make her acquaintaunce. Wherē libertie was geuen her to come to his preſence, ſhe cauſed all the reſt of her bande to ſtaye, and ſhee came forwardes accompanyed with CCC. women. Allone as ſhe perceiued Alexander, ſhee leaped from her horſe carryng twoe Lances in her hande. The Amazones aparell is ſuch that it doth not couer all their bodyes: for their breſtes be bare on the left ſyde, and their garmēts

Thalestris Quene of Amazons

whiche they vse to knitt vp with a knott, come not to their knees. One brest they alwayes reserue vntouched wherwith they nourishe their woman childzen, but their right breastes they vse to seare, to make thē more apt to drawe their bowes, and cast their dartes. Thalestris looked vpon Alexander with a bolde counten aunce, and considered in beholding of him, that his personage aunswered not to the fame that shee had heard of his actes. For the barbarous nacyons gaue great veneracion to the maiestie of the personage, thinking none to be sufficient for the doing of greate actes, but such as nature hath endued with great personages. It was demaunded of her, if shee had anye request to make vnto Alexander: Whereat she abashed not to confesse that she was come thither to gett childzen wyth him: thinking her self a personage worthy of whom he should get heires to inherit his kyngdome, wherein she couenaunted that if it were a woman she would kepe it still, and if it were a man childe, she woulde restore it to the father. Alexander enquired of her, if she woulde go forwardes wyth hym in his warres: but therein she excused her selfe, that shee had left no order for the defence

lence of her kyngdome. But shee continued still in declaracion of the cause of her comming, and required that her hope therein myght not be in vaine. The womans appetite seemed to be more vehemently geuen to lust then the kinges was: yet she obtayned of him to stay for her cause, and consumed thirtene dayes in satisfiyng of her desyre. That done she departed to her owne kingdom, and Alexander went to *Parthenia* which was the place where he fyrst shewed manifestly the vyces ỹ were in him. There he turned his continencye and moderation, being the most excellent vertues apearing in any kynde of estate, into pryde & voluptuousnesse, not esteeming his countrey customes, nor the holsome temperaunce that was in the vsages & discipline of the kings of Macedon. For he iudged their ciuile vsage & maner to be ouer base for hys greatnes: but did counterfeit the height & pompe of the kinges of *Perse*, representing ỹ greatnes of the Goddes. He was content to suffer men there to fall downe flatt vppon the grounde and woorshyp him, and accustomed the victorours of so manye nacyons, by lytle and lytle to seruile offices, couetting

Parthenia first place where Alex shewed his v

to make them lyke vnto his captiues. He ware vpon his head a Diademe of purple, interpaled with white, like as Darius was accustomed, and fashioned his apparaile after the manner of the Persians, wythout scrupulositie of anye euill token that it signifyed for the victorer to chaunge his habite into the fashion of him whome he had vanquished. And though he aduaunted that he ware the spoyles of his enemyes: yet wyth those spoiles he put vppon him their euyll maners: and the insolency of the mynde, followed the pryde of the aparayle. Besides he sealed such letters as he sent into *Europe* with his accustomed seale: but all the letters he sent abroade into *Asia*, were sealed with Darius ring. So it appeared that one mynde coulde not beare the greatnes that appertained to two. He appareled also his frendes, his capitaines, and his horsmen in Persian apparell, whereat though they grudged in their myndes, yet they durste not refuse it for feare of his displeasure: Hys courte was replenished wyth concubynes: for he still maintained three hundred and lx. that belonged to Darius, & emongs them were flockes of Eunuches accustomed to perfourme the vse of women. The

old

olde souldiours of Philip naturally abhorryng suche thynges, manifestly withstoode to bee infected with suche voluptuousnes, and straunge customes. Whereupon there rose a generall talke and opinion through out the Campe, that they had lost more by the victorye, then they had wonne by the warre. For when they sawe them selues ouercome in suche excesse: and forreine customes so to preuaile emonges them, they iudged it a slender rewarde of their longe being abrode, to returne home in the habite of prisoners. They began to bee ashamed of their kyng, ỹ was more like to suche as were subdued, then to them that were victorious: and that of a kyng of *Macedon* was become a prince of *Perse*, and one of Darius courtiers. When he vnderstoode that the chiefe of hys frendes and his men of warre were greuously offended with his doyngs, he went about to recouer fauour agayne with giftes and liberalitie: but it is to bee thought that the rewardes of seruitude bee vngratefull to free men. And therefore lest this matter might turne into a sedicion, hee thought good to breake the imaginacions encreased by idlenes with the exercise of warre, wherof an apt occasion was geuen.

For Bessus inuesting himselfe as a kyng, toke vpon him the name of Artaxerres, drawing to his part the Scithians & other that were the inhabiters of ỹ ryuer of *Thanais*: Whiche thinges were reported to hym by Nabarzanes, whome he had receiued into his fauour, and geuen the rule of the countrey that he had before. When he had determined this new expedicion, he found his armye so ouercharged and laden w̄ spoyle & other furniments of voluptuousnes, that they could not scarcely moue. Wherfore he commaunded the baggage and stuffe of the whole army to bee brought together in one place, excepting only such thinges as were very necessary. The place was large and plaine whether the cartes were brought laden: and when euery one stoode waityng and musing what he woulde commaunde them to do, he caused the beastes to be remoued fyrst out of the way, and then set his owne fardels on fyer, and after all the rest. Whiles these thinges were burnyng, the owners were on fyre to see those thynges consumed, for the sauyng wherof they had oft quenched the flames in Cities of their enemies. Yet no man durst lament ỹ price of hys owne bloude, seeing they sawe the

fyer

ryer consume the kynges ryches as well as their owne: and the rather to pacifye them, the kyng did mittigate their dolour with a briefe oration. Whereupon they that were euer apte for the warres, and redy to do all thynges, beganne to bee toyfull that wyth the losse of their baggage, they had preserued their disciplyne accustomed in the warres. As they were setting forwardes towardes *Bactria*, Pycanor the sonne of Parmenio dyed sodeynly, whome euery man greatly lamented: but chiefelye the kyng was so sorowful, desyring to haue stayed for the celebracion of hys buriall, but that want of vitayles caused hym to hasse forwardes. Philotas therefore was left behynde with two thousande fyr hundred souldiers to perfourme the ceremonies appertaining to his brothers buriall, and he himselfe marched towardes Bessus. In the waye letters were brought to Alexander frō the princes therabout, ỹ Bessus was comming towardes him wyth a great armye, addyng thereunto that Satribarzanes whome he hadde made prince of the Arians, was newlye rebelled. For that cause (notwythstandyng he was come nere vnto Bessus) he thought it best first to op-

prese Satribarzanes: and for that intent brought forwardes his horsemen and foote men that were lyght armed, to inuade him sodeinly. His comming was not so priuie, but Satribarzanes knewe therof and fledd into *Bactria* with two thousande horsmen. For by reason hee was not able to assemble anye more in so short a tyme, the reste tooke the nerte mountaines for their refuge. There was a rocke which towardes the weste was high & steepe, but towardes the easte more lowe and easy to bee clymed vpon, which parte was full of trees. The same rocke being in compasse xxxv. furlonges had a fountaine running continually, & in the toppe a greene playne, where they placed the weaker multitude: but the reste that were apte for defence being to the number of thirtene thousande, gott themselues to the edges of the rocke, and there threwe down stones and logges vppon the Macedons that came to assaile them. Hee left Craterus to besiege this rocke, & went in person to pursue Satribarzanes. And because he vnderstoode that he was fledd farre of, retourned backe againe to ỹ siege of them that were vppon the rocke. Fyrste he caused all thinges to bee taken awaye,

that

that might be any impediment to his men in the assault geuing. But when they came to the bare and steepe rocke, the labour seemed wast, where nature wrought against them. But he that was of a disposition alwaies to striue against difficulties, considering how hard a matter it was to go forwardes, and howe daungerous to returne backe againe, dyd cast in hys head all the wayes & deuyses that could be imagined, & nowe fantasied one thing, & then another, as men be wont whē that waies they haue founde out fyrst do not please them. As hee stoode in a staye in doubt what to doe, fortune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither witt nor reason coulde inuent. It chaunced that the wynde blewe sore at the southwest, what tyme the souldiours had felled great plentie of woode, whereof they thought to make scaffoldes to mount vp against the rocke, and the heate of ỹ Sunne had made the same drye. When Alexander perceiued the wynd to blow after that sort, & the woode lyng in that place, conceyued by & by his purpose, and willed more trees to be cut down, and layde vpon them, putting all other thinges to it, that were apte to kindle and nourishe fyre: So that trees

heaped

heaped vppon trees, became as it were a mountayn, so high as the toppe of ỹ rocke. The same being sett on fyer in all partes at once, the wynde caried the flame into the face of their enemies, and the smoke couered ouer the skye. The noyse was then great that the fyer made, which burned not onely the trees that were fyxed of purpose, but also the rest of the wood growing nere thereabout. The enemies were so tormented with the flame ⁊ heate of the fyer, that they were enforced to forsake their place of strength ⁊ attẽpted to escape awaye where the fyer gaue them least impediment. But where the fyer gaue place, the Macedons stoode in readines to receiue them, so that they were consumed ⁊ slayn, dyuers kynde of wayes. Some threwe them selues down the rockes, some ran into the myddes of ỹ fyer: other fell into their enemies handes: and a fewe halfe consumed with fyre, were taken prisoners. When Alexander had don this acte, he returned to Craterus whiche besieged *Artacnan*, who hauing prepared all thinges in readines, taried onely for the kinges comming, to geue him the honour of the winning of the citie. When Alexander was come, he approched the Walles

with

with the towers of timber that he had prepared for the assault, at the sight whereof the inhabitauntes were so afrayde, that they helde vp their handes from ẏ walles, requiring him to spare them, and execute his wrath vppon Satribarzanes that was the aucthour of their rebellion. Alexander pardoned them freely, and not only leuyed his siege, but also restored to the inhabitãts all thinges that pertained to them. As he remoued frõ this citie, there came vnto him a newe supplye of Souldiours. Zoylus brought out of *Greece* fyue hundred horsemen, and three M. whiche Antipater sent out of *Illiria*. There came a hundred and thirty Thessalien horsemen wyth Philip, who also brought of souldiers strangers out of *Lidia*, twoe M. cccc. footemen and ccc. horsmen. Alexander hauing thus encreased his power, entred into the countrey of the *Dragans*, whyche were a warlike nacion, & vnder the gouernement of Nabarzanes, who being of counsell wõ Bessus in ẏ treason ẏ he cõmitted against his prince, when he hearde of Alexanders comming, for feare of the punishement hee hadde deserued, fledd into *India*. Thus hadde they lyen in campe nyne dayes, when Alexander being

without

without feare of any enemye, and inuincible against al forein powers, was brought in perill by treason of his owne people. It chaũsed that one Dimmus a man of meane behauour and authoritie wᵗ hys Prince, was greatly enflamed in the loue of a yong man called Nichomachus, with whome he vsed muche familier conuersacion. Thys Dimmus on a time being in a passion, (as it well appeared by his countenaunce) allured this yong man into a Temple: wher remaining alone togeathers, declared that he had certein secretes to shew him, which in no wise were to bee reported agayne. Thereby he brought Nicomachus in great suspection, what the matter should be: For before he would tell him, he made a protestation by the loue & familiaritie betwixte them, that he woulde assure him by his othe to keepe the thing secrete: who supposyng the matter to be of no such weight, that hee ought with periurie & breaking of hys othe to disclose the same againe, sware by the Goddes there present. Then Dimmus opened vnto him howe there was a treason conspired against the kyng, whiche wythin three dayes should be put in execuciõ, whereof (he saied) he himself was priuie wyth ouers

uers men of nobilitie and estimacion. Wh̄e Nicomachus dyd heare it to be such a matter, constantly denied then that his promise extended to concele treason, whereunto no othe nor Religion could bynd a man. Wh̄e Dimmus hearde him saye so, he became in a rage betwirt loue and feare, and clasped the young man by the hand, requiring him with weping eyes, that he would not sticke to be a partaker in the execucion of this cō-spiracye, or at the least, if his heart would not serue him, that he would keepe his cōsell secrete, in respect that he had found such proofe of loue in him, to commit his lyfe into his handes without any further proofe of his fidelitie. But in conclusiō, when he perceiued that Nicomachus would in no wise agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred ẏ acte, he vsed dyuers meanes to bring hym to hys entent, one while entreatynge him wyth faire wordes, and another while threatning to kyll him. He called hym cowarde and traytour to hys frende, cōmending the goodlynes of the enterprise, and putt him in hoape of great preferrement, in that he shoulde be partener of the kyngdome they went about to gett. When hee had proued all these wayes, and yet founde him

him strange, he thrust his swoꝛd one while to Nichomachus thꝛote, & another while to his owne, so ẏ at length by thꝛeatning & fair speking, he bꝛought him to pꝛomise, both to kepe his counsaile secreat, and also to be assistaunt to the deede doinge. Yet neuerthelesse as one of a constant minde (though foꝛ the tyme pꝛesent he seemed to be won with the loue of his frende, and become agreable to his requestes) chaunged no parte of hys foꝛmer purpose. This done, Nichomachus required to know what the men were, that had confederated them selues in so weighty a matter, because the persõs (he saied) were muche materiall that shoulde take so great an enterpꝛyse in hande. Then Dymnus thoughe he were in great trouble of minde that he had bꝛought ẏ matter so far fourth, yet when he hearde hym aske the question, reioyced, and thanked him greatlye, that he would so frely associate him selfe with such maner of men, as Demetrius of the pꝛiuye chaumbꝛe was, Peculaus, Nicanoꝛ, Aphebetus, Loceus, Diocenus, Archelopis, and Amintas. This communication once ended betwirt them, Nichomachus departed, and dyscloſed all the matter whyche he had

heard

heard before, to a brother of his called Ceballinus: agreeynge betwyxte them two, that Nychomachus shoulde remayne still secret in his tent, lest by his comming to the kinges lodginge, not vsinge to haue accesse vnto ỹ king, ỹ conspirators might perceiue themselues bewrayed. Ceballinus repaired to the kinges lodginge, & taried before the gate, waytinge for some man nere aboute the kinge, to bringe him to his presence. It fortuned that amongest many whiche passed by, onely Philotas the sonne of Parmenio, demaunded why he wayted there? To whom Ceballinus with a bashed countenaunce (well declaringe the vnquietnes of his minde) reported al those thinges which he had heard of his brother, requiringe him that he would declare the same immediatly vnto the king. Philotas departed from him vnto the kinge, with whom that day he had muche communication of other thinges, & yet opened no part of ỹ same matter which was told hym by Ceballinus. At night as Philotas came fourth, Ceballinus met him at ỹ court gate, & enquired whether he had dō his message to ỹ king or not. He excused ỹ matter ỹ he could find him at no leasure. The next day Ceballinus met him agayne

goinge

goyng to the king, and put him in remembraunce of that he had tolde him before, to whome he aunswered that he remembred it well: but yet for all that, he disclosed no parte of the matter. Ceballinus began then to suspecte him, and intended no lenger to differre the thynge, but opened the same to one Petron maister of the kynges armarye: who immediatly conueyed Ceballinus into the armarye, & went streight to the kyng whyche was bathyng, and enfourmed hym of all that he had heard. Alexander then made no delaye, but sent certeyne of his guarde to take Dimmus, and after came him selfe into the armary. As soone as Ceballinus sawe the kyng, hee ranne to him with great reioysing, & sayed, loe, I haue preserued thee from the handes of thine enemies. But Alexander examyned him of all the circumstaunce, and he agayne aunswered to euery poynt in order. The kyng was earnest to know how long it was sence Nichomachus had geuen him this informacion, and he confessed that it was three dayes. Wherupon the kyng considering that he could not with trueth haue conceled this matter so long, commaunded that he should be put in warde. Then cried

he

he out, and declared howe that at the same instaunt he knew of the conspiracy fyrst, he opened it to Philotas, of whom (he sayde) he might inquire the truthe. Thereupon yt was demaunded of him, whether he had required Philotas to be brought to the kings presence or no. Which thing when ỹ kyng by his confession perceiued to be true, & that hee did stifly abide by his first tale, he lyfted vp his handes to heauen, the teares fallyng from his eyes, greatly complayninge that Philotas should requite him with such vntrueth, whom hee moste assuredlye trusted. Dimnus in the meane season knowing for what cause he was sent for, wounded hymselfe to death: but yet somewhat letted by them ỹ were sent to take him, was brought before the king, whō as soone as he beheld, sayd vnto him: Dimnus, what haue I offended thee, ỹ thou shouldest thinke Philotas more worthy to be kyng of Macedon then I? At whyche woordes Dimnus became speacheless, and casting forth a great sighe, tourned his face from the kings sight, & fell down dead. The king called Philotas before him, and sayd: this man whom thou here seest, should haue suffered death if it coulde haue ben proued that hee had conceled two daies the treason prepensed against me. With the which matter he chargeth thee Philotas: to whom as he (saith) hee gaue knowledge

immediatly the more neare thou art about mee, so much more greater is thy offence: & the faulte had ben more tollerable in him then in thee. Howbeit ỹ hast a fauorable iudge: for if ther be any thing ỹ cã not be excused, yet at the least it may be pardoned. To this Philotas nothing abashed (yt the heart may be iudged by the countenaunce) made answer, that Ceballinus brought him a tale, the reporter whereof was ouer light of credit to bee beleued, & that he feared least by the presenting of such a matter whiche did rise vpon brabling betwixt two persons of euil disposition, he might haue ben laught to scorne: But afterwards whẽ he once knew ỹ Dimnus hadde slaine hym selfe, he was clearely then resolued no longer to haue prolonged the thing. And so falling down before the king, besought hym ỹ he wouldrather haue respect to his life past, then to his fault, which was onely a cõcelement, & no act done. It is hard to saye, whether the king beleued him, or grounded hys displeasure more deepely in his hart: nevertheless in token of pardon, gaue him hys hand, saying how it appeared ỹ thaccusaciõ was rather miscredited by him, thẽ cõceled of malice. Notwithstanding hee called hys counsaile together amongst whom Philotas was not admitted, but Nichomachus

was

was brought in before thē, where he declared all suche matters as hee before had shewed to ỹ king. Ther was one Craterus in special fauor wᵗ Alexāder which for ỹ enuy he had to Philotas aduauncemēt, bare him alwais grudge: Who knew very wel that the king had often been displeased wᵗ Philotas, for the ouermuche aduauncyng of his good seruice and valiant acts: but yet for al that in those matters he was not suspected of treason, but onely noted of presumption & arrogancy. Craterus thought ỹ hee could not haue a better occasion to oppresse his enemy, then by colouring his priuate hatred wᵗ a pretence of duitie towards his prynce. Would God (quod he) ye had taken our councel in the beginning of this matter: for if ye would nedes haue pardoned him, ye should haue kept from his knowledge how muche hee was in your daunger rather then to haue brought him in feare of his life, wherby ye shal make him more mindful of his own peril, then of your goodnes. For he may alwayes imagyn your death: but you shal not be alwaies in case to pardon him. Let it neuer sinke in your hart, ỹ he which purposed so haynous a treason woulde chaunge his purpose for ỹ benenolence of a pardō. You know well that suche as offende are often in dispeire of mercye. And though hee perchaunce eyther with repentaunce of hys faulte, or remembraunce of your goodnesse woulde chaunge hys mynde, yet I am sure that hys father Parmenio, generall captaine of so greate an armye, and of so

grounded authoritye amongst your̄ souldiers (that is with them in maner as your selfe) would be euil content to be in your debt for his sonnes life. There be certaine benefits hateful to men: and it is shame to confesse to haue deserued deathe. Therefore I conclude, that he had rather it should be thoughte you had done him wrong, then that he had geeuen hym his life. I can not see therefore, but you shall be enforced to destroy them for theire owne suerty. There be enemies inough remaining yet vncōquered, against whom wee bee going: make your selfe sure from your foes at home, so shall yee haue lesse nede to feare your enemies abroade. These were Craterus words, and the residue of ẏ cou̇sail were of opinion, that Philotas would neuer haue conceled this conspiracy, except hee had beene eyther pryncypall or priuye therunto. For they thoughte there was noe true man, or of honest hart, though hee had been none of the kings familiers but one of his meane seruants, hearing so muche as Philotas heard, but would forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he beinge the son of Parmenio, the maister of the kinges horse & of his priuy counsaile, did not so muche as ẏ straunger, whiche strayghtwaies made relacyon of that hys brother hadde tolde him. And where as he pretended that the kinge was at no leasure, that they iudged to be doone to thentent the accuser shoulde not seeke anye other to whome hee myghte vtter

vtter it. Where as Pichomachus, albeit he was bounde by his othe to the contrarye, yet would he neuer rest tyll he had discharged his conscience. But Philotas when he consumed in maner the whole daye in spoꝛt and passtime with the kinge, could not finde in his harte to caste fourthe a fewe woꝛdes, specially in a matter so muche concerninge the kinges safeguarde. But admit (qꝺ they) he had geuen no credit to ꝯ matter thꝛough the lightnes of the repoꝛter. why shoulde he haue differred ꝯ accuser. ij. dayes, as though he had beleued it? Foꝛ if he had misliked the tale, he might haue dismissed the partye. It was also alledged that euerie mans mynde much misgeueth him, when the matter cõcerneth his owne ieopardye. Muche moꝛe ought men to be credulous when it touched the suerty of a kinges person, in which case yt oughte to be examined thoughe yt be of smale weight. They all therefoꝛe determyned that Philotas should be enfoꝛced to disclose the parteners of the conspiracye. The kinge commaunding them to kepe the matter secret departed, and to the entent no inckling should appeare of this new counsaile: he caused it to be pꝛoclaimed that the armie should set foꝛwards the nert day. The same

wyght the kinge called Philotas to a banquet, with whom he vouchsafed not onelye to eate, but also familiarly to commen, notwithstandinge he had before in the counsell determined hys death. After in the seconde watche of the night, Ephestion, Craterus, and Erigonns whiche were of the kinges counsell, came priuely into the court without light, and of the esquiers, there came Perdicas, and Leonatus, by whome commaundement was geuen, that al suche as lay neare the kinges lodging should watch in harneys. By this tyme souldyers were appointed to al the passages, and horsemen were sent to kepe the wayes, that no man shoulde passe priuely to Parmenio, whiche then was gouernour of *Media* with a great power. Then Attaras came into the court with .ccc. armed mē, vnto whom there were appointed .x. of those that had the charge of the kinges person, euery one of them accōpanied wyth ten Esquiers, which were sorted into diuers companies to take the other conspiratours. But Attaras with his .ccc. was sent to Philotas lodging, where with fyftie of the hardiest brake vp his chaumbre doore that was shutte agaynste them. The residue were commanded to beset ȳ house,

least

leaſt hee might eſcape by ſome ſecret waye. Philotas, whether it were throughe the ſuertie of his owne conſcience, or through wearines of ſuche trauaile of minde, was in ſo profound & dead ſleape, that Attaras brake in vpon him before he wyſt. But at lengthe when he was awaked & come to him ſelfe, perceiuing them aboute to binde him, he exclaimed & ſayd: O Alexander, the malyce of mine enemies haue preuayled aboue thye mercy. Speakyng theſe wordes, they couered his face, & broughte him into the courte. The nexte daye the king gaue commaundement that certain of the men of war ſhould aſſemble in harneis to the number of. vi. M beſides ſlaues & raſcalles that filled full the court, which being aſſembled together, the guarde compaſſed in Philotas wᵗ their bād, to the entent he ſhould not be eſpied of the people, vntil ſuch time as the king myghte ſpeake vnto them. For by an old lawe of the Macedons the kings in their owne perſons were wont to enquire in matters of treaſō: yet could not the kings authoritie preuaile to condempnaciō, except it were confirmed by the conſent of the men of warre. Therefore the body of Dimnus was firſt brought

into the place, the most parte vnknowynge what hee had done, or by what chaunce hee was slaine. Then came the kyng forthe to speake vnto the multitude, whyche in hys countenance declared ỹ dolour of his harte: and the sadnesse of such as were nere about him, caused vnto the rest great expectacyon of the matter. He did cast his eis towards ỹ earth, and stoode long astonied & in a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirites, and spake vnto them in thys wyse. By ỹ treasō of some menne I was almoste taken from you: but thorough the mercye and prouidence of the gods, I am yet preserued. Youre honourable presence dothe constrayne mee more vehemently to bee moued against those traitours, because the onely comfort and frute of mye life is, that I remayn to geue thankes to so many noble menne, to whom I am so much bounden. Wyth speakynge of these wordes the murmour of the multitude dyd interrupte hys tale, and the teares dyd fall from their eis. Then the king began again his tale. How muche more wyll you bee moued when I shall shew you the authours of so horryble a treason, the rehersall of whom I yet refraine as one very lothe to discouer their names. But I must ouercome the memory of my former fauour, and vtter the conspiracy of my vnnaturall people: for how owe is it possible for mee to hide so greate a treason? Parmenio a man of that age so deepely in my det, thorough the moste ample benefites bothe of mee and mye father, and whom I moste estee-

med

med of al my frendes, is the captaine and cõtriuer of all this mischiefe. His minister Philotas hathe procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, and this Dimnus (whose body heare you see) with other parteners of their furye to my destruction. When hee came to that point, there rose throughout the multitude a great charme of a mumure and cõplaint, suche as is wont to be amõgst a number, and speciallye of men of warre, when they are moued either with affection, or displeasure. With that Nichomachus, Metron, and Ceballinus weare broughte forth, euery one of them geuing in euidence that they had spoken afore, yet appeared it not by anye mans tale that Philotas was priuie to that conspiracye. But at the laste when the noyse was ceassed, and the wytnesses had sayd al they could, ỹ king proceded in this wise. Of what manner mynd think you was this man whiche hearinge the whole report, coulde finde in hys harte to concele the matter, the trueth wherof is wel declared by the death of Dimnus. Ceballinus that reported an vncertayne tale for the trial therof was afraid of no tormentes, and neuer delayed the moment of tyme, vntill he had discharged him selfe: insomuche that he brake into the place where I was bathing: but Philotas onely feared nothing, he beleued nothig. O how great a hart had this man, which hauyng knowledge of the daunger of his kyng, dyd neuer chaunge countenaunce, neither take so much paine as to heare out ỹ tale of thaccuser? But in this silence

lence & concelement there is treason hydden, & the gredy desire he had to reigne, did driue him hedlõg to attempt extreame mischiefe. His father is gouernour of *Media*, & beareth such a stroke amongst ỹ captaines & men of war thorough mine authority, that he hopeth for a great deale more then hee hath. And because I am without children hee esteemeth me not. But Philotas is deceiued. I haue childrẽ frends, & kinsfolk amongst you. So long as you be in sauegard, I shal not reckẽ my self without heires: Then did he recite a letter that was taken, which Parmenio had writtẽ to his sonnes Nicanor, & Philotas, wherein there appeared no great proofe of anye greater treason intẽded. The effect was this: First take good heede to youre selues, & then to those ỹ long to you, so shal we bring to passe ỹ we haue purposed. Which letter the king enforced, saying: it was written after such a maner, that if it came to his sonnes hands it might be perceiued of them ỹ knew ỹ matter. And if it were caught by ỹ way, it should deceiue them that knew it not. Then proceded he now will Philotas perhaps say, that when Dimnus named all that were partakers of his conspyracy, he named not him. As for that it is noe proof of his innocencye, but a token of his power and authoritie, because he was spared of them ỹ might best bewray him, which confessing of them selues, durst not speake of him. But what maner man he hath been, his life doth shewe. He was fellow and companion to Amintas my kynsman, which conspired high treason against my person in Macedon.

Hee

Hee gaue his sister in mariage to Attalus, their whom I had neuer greater enemy. When by reason of olde frendshyp & familiaritie I wrote to him of the title geuen to me by the Oracle of *Iupiter Hammon*, he did not sticke to aunswer: that he was verye glad that I was admitted into the number of the Gods, howbeit very sory for those that should liue vnder such one, as would excede the state of a mã. These were plaine tokens that his hart was turned from me, & that he spited my glory. Whiche I kepe close in my hart, so long as I mighte. For I thought my bowels pulled from mee, if I shoulde make a litle store of thẽ, for whom I had done so muche. But now it is not their wordes that must be punished: for the rashnesse of theire tongues is turned to swordes, which (beleue me) Philotas hath whetted to my destructiõ. Whom if I should sucker to escape, alas my souldiers whether shoulde I go: to whom should I commit my parson: Hee was the man that I made generall of myne horsemen, of the greatest part of mine army, and of all ỹ noble young gentlemen. To his troth & fidelytye haue I committed my sauegard, my trust, & victory. His father did I preferre vnto the same estate, wherunto you aduaunced me, *Media*, then whiche there is not a richer countrey, & many thousandes of youre frends & fellowes I haue put vnder hys gouernaunce, and authoritie. Where I trusted of moste suertie, there founde I most peril. Howe muche more happye had I been to haue dyed in battaile, and rather been slaine of myne enemyes, then thus betrayed of my subiects: For nowe being saued from the daungers that I most feared, I haue fallen into those ỹ I ought to haue doubted least. you haue been wont often times to warn me ỹ I shoulde regard mye suertie. It is not that may make me sure of that ỹ you counsell me. To your hãds & to your succor I flye. I wold not liue

though

though I might againste your willes, & thoughe you would yet can I not, excepte I bee deliuered from these mie enemies. Hereuppon Philotas was brought forth in an olde garment, hys hands bound behinde his backe. It wel appeared how much this miserable sight moued them which late before ẽuied him. The day before they saw him generall of ẏ horse mẽ, they knew that hee was at supper with the king, & sodainly they saw him both prysoner bound like a theefe, & also condẽpned to die. So did it pitie their harts to consider how Parmenio so noble a man, so greate a captaine, which late hauing lost two of his sonnes, Hector, & Nicanor, should bee put to aunswer absent with the third sonne, whõ euill fortune had lefte him. The multitude being thus enclined to pitye: Amintas one of the kinges officers, with a cruel tale set them al against the prisoner: We bee all (quod he) betraied to the barbarous nacions: none of vs shall returne home to his countrey, wife, nor frendes, but as a maimed body without an head, without honour, without fame, in a straunge countrey, shall bee a mockyng stocke to our enemies. Hys tale was nothing pleasant to the king, because he put the souldiers in remembrance of their wiues and countrey, whereby hee thought they would be the lesse willyng to go forwards in his warres. Ther was one

Cenus

Cenus, which though he had maried the sis-
ter of Philotas, yet did he more extreame-
lye enuye hym then any other, calling him
traitour against his kinge, to his countrey,
& to the whole army. And therupon toke vp
a stone that by chaunce laye at his feete, to
haue cast at Philotas, which he did (as some
thought) to the ende he might rid him from
racking. But the king kept backe his hand,
and said that ỳ prisoner should haue liberty
to speake for him selfe, and woulde not suf-
fer him to be condempned otherwise. Then
Philotas beinge admitted to speake, were
yt throughe the conscience of his offence, or
through the greatnes of his peril, as a man
astonied, and beside him seif, durst neyther
loke vp nor speak, but burst out into teares.
Whereupon his harte fainted, & he sowned
downe vpon those that led him. But after-
wardes when he had wyped his eyes, and
by little and little recouered hys harte and
tongue, he made countenaunce to speake.
Then the king beheld him in ỳ face & sayd:
The Macedons shalbe thy iudges. I would
knowe therefore whither thou wilt speake
vnto thẽ in thy coũtrey lãguage, or not? To
whom Philotas aũswered: Ther be diuers
nacions here besides ỳ Macedõs, which as

I truſt ſhal perceiue my wordes the better, if I vſe the ſame language that you did, becauſe the more might vnderſtand your tale. Then ſaid the king, marke howe this man hath his owne countrey tongue in hatred. For there is none but he that will dyſdayne to ſpeake it: but let him ſay what he will, ſo long as you remembre that hee not onelye diſdaineth our cuſtomes, but alſo oure language. And with that word the king departed from the aſſeblie. Then ſaide Philotas. It is eaſy for an innocent to find wordes to ſpeke: but it is very hard for a man in miſerye to keepe a temperaunce in his tale. Thus ſtanding betwyxte a cleare conſcience and moſt vnhappie fortune, I know not in what wiſe I ſhall ſatiſfie mye ſelfe, & the time both together. For he that might beſt haue iudged mye cauſe is gonne: what the cauſe is hee woulde not heare me, I can not well imagin, ſith vpon the matter heard it lyeth onely in his handes bothe to diſcharge and condempne me. For ỹ matter not heard, he cannot acquite me beeing abſent, ſince he condempned me when he was here preſẽt. But notwithſtanding the defence of a priſoner is not onely ſuperfluous, but alſo hatefull, which ſeemeth not to enfourme, but to reproue the iudge: yet will I not forſake my ſelfe, nor ſo do, that I ſhall ſeeme condempned by mine owne default. I ſe not of what treaſon I ſhould bee gyltie. Among the conſpiratours no man named mee. Nichomachus ſayde nothing of mee. Ceballinus coulde not tell more of me then he heard. And yet dothe the kyng beleue that I ſhould be head of thys conſpiracye. Was it poſſible that Dimn⁹ ſhould forget to name hym

him that was chiefe? or is it likely that he would e
haue ouerslipped mee, when the names of the con-
spirators were demaũded of him? he would rather
haue named me falsly to allure ẏ yong man ẏ soner
to his opinion: yet when he tolde the matter pry-
uely to Nichomachus, whom hee beleued verely
woulde haue kept it secret, naming him selfe and al
the rest: of me onely he made no mencion, wherein
it cãnot be gathered ẏ he omitted me, for because he
would haue spared me. I pray you my felowes, if
no mã had come to me, nor geuen me knowlege of
the matter, should I this day haue ben put to ans-
swer, when no man could haue accused me? But be
it that Dimnus were alive and woulde spare me:
what thynke ye by the other? woulde they confesse
of them selues, and forbeare me? Aduersity is ma-
licious and spitefull. An offender when hee is pu-
nished him selfe, vseth not to keepe silence to spare
another man. Commonly hee that goeth to deathe
will spare no man, nor no man will spare him that
is ready to die: and yet so many as bee gyltye & put
to tormentes, wil there none confesse the truethe?
But now I must answer to the point that was
offence, if there were any. Why did I concele trea-
son? whye did I heare it with so small reguarde?
This faulte, if it were a fault, ẏ hast pardoned me
(O Alexander) whersoeuer thou arte, by geuyng
me thy hand, & bidding me to thy banquet in token
of atonement. If you did beleue me, I am cleare.
If you forgaue me, I am quite. Stand at ẏ leaste
to your owne iugement. Alas what haue I doone
since this last night I went frõ your boord? what
new report hath chaunged your mind? I rested in
a sound slepe, when mine enemies by their binding
waked me, that was sleping in mine owne misfor-
tune. Offendours when theye cannot sleepe tho-
rough theire vnquiet conscience are wonte to bee
vexed with cares, not onely when their mischief is

intended

intended, but also when it is ended. But this quyetnes came vnto me first thorough mine owne innocency, and then by the kinges pardon. I feared not that others crueltie shoulde take more place, then his mercye. But least hee shoulde forthynke that beleued me: ye shall vnderstand that the matter was first shewed mee by a lighte felowe, whoe coulde not bring anye witnes or warraunty of his tale: whyche if I had disclosed, shoulde haue put many men to trouble. O vnhappy man I thought mine eares had been seduced with the brabblementes of two buggerers, and I suspected the trouble of the partye, because hee did not vtter the matter hym selfe, but procured his brother to do it. I was in feare that the one shoulde haue denyed that euer hee shewed anye suche matter to the other, and then should I haue seemed to procure much trouble to manye of the kinges frendes. So ỹ wheare I offended none, I haue founde some more desirous to procure mye deathe, then to saue mye lyfe. What hatred suppose ye shoulde I haue gotten yf I had accused innocētes? But Dimnus slew him him selfe: coulde I therefore diuine afore that hes woulde so do? no suerly. Thus his deathe beeyng the thinge that onelye tryed the accusation true, coulde not moue mee to vtter it, beeing preuented by another. And if I had been conspiratour wyth Dimnus of so greate a treason: is it lyke that I woulde haue dissimuled by the space of two dayes after it was discouered? As for Ceballinus, it had been small maistery to haue dispatched him oute of the way. After the thing disclosed, wherfore should I haue delaied the matter? I entred into ỹ kinges chamber alone, hauing weapō about me: why differred I my purpose? durste I not to attēpt it wout Dimnus? No perchaunce yee will say, because he was the chiefe conspiratour. Howe then standeth it together, that I should be his vnderling, wh ch

did

did couet to be king of Macedon? which of you all haue been corrupt of me with bribes? what Captaine, what officer haue I made of aboue other? It is layde to my charge that I abhorre the speakyng of my countrey language, and that I disdain the maners of the Macedons. What? do I despise the kingdom that I couet? ye know wel that our natural tongue, through ỹ conuersation of straūge naciōs is gone out of vze: as wel we that be victorours, as they that be subdued muste learne a newe language. But suerly these thinges make no more against mee, theune dyd the treason that Amintas the sonne of Perdicas intended againste the kyng. wyth hym I had frendshyp I wyll not deny: excepte yee wyll make it a thyng vnlawfull to loue the kynges brother. But sithens it was our dutie to honour a man called to that degree of fortune, I beseeche you am I gylty because I couldе not gesse before that hee woulde offende? Is the lawe suche that the frendes of offenders muste suffer being innocentes? If that bee reason, why liue I so long? If it bee no reason, why am I condempned to dye? But when I wrote I hadde pitye of thē that shoulde lyue vnder such a one as beleued himselfe to be the sonne of *Iupiter*. O faitheful frendshyp and daungerous libertie of true councell, that deceyued mee, that compelled mee not to hide that I thought. I confesse that I wrote so to the kyng, but not of the kyng. I dyd it not for spyte, but for my dueties sake. I thought it more meete for Alexander to haue knowleged the kynred of Iupiter with silence, then to haue made aduaunte thereof with vaine boasting. But forbetause the trueth of Goddes Oracle is certaine, let God bee wytnesse in my cause. Reteyne mee in prison till yee maye know Iupiters aunswer concerning this conspyracy, and in the meane season he that hath vouchesaufed our king to be his sonne, will suffer none of

them that haue conspired against hys offspryng, to be vnknowen. If you suppose torments more certaine then Oracles, I will not desire to bee saued from them in trial of the truethe. There is an olde vsage, that such as be put to aunswer vpon life and death, are wont to bring their parentes and kynsmē before you. Two brothers of late haue I lost: my father neither can I bring forthe nor dare call for, because hee is accused of this treason likewise. Is it a small thyng for him that was the father of manye children, and hauing but one sonne lefte in whom to take pleasure, not onely to lose him, but also to lose his owne life with him? Therefore my most deare father shalt thou dye for mee, & wyth mee: it is I that take thy life from thee: It is I that ende thine olde daies: why didst thou begette me vnhappy wretch in hatred of the Goddes, to take suche fruite by me, as is prepared for thee? I am in doubt whether my youth be more vnhappy, or thy age. For I in the verye flower of mine yeares am weeded vp, & the executioner shall bereaue thee thy lyfe: which if fortune would haue suffered to continue, yet nature would haue asked it or it had been long. The remembraunce of mye father doth put mee in minde howe loth and timerous I ought to haue been to the reporte of tales. For whē my father was enfourmed that Philip the Phisician had prepared poyson for Alexander, he wrote a letter to warn the king that he should not receiue the medicine, whiche his Phisition had prepared. Was mye father beleeued? was his letter of anye authoritie? I my selfe when I haue reported such things as I heard, how often haue I been shakē of with a checke for my lyghte beliefe? So that when we tell thinges we are hated, and when wee holde our peace we are suspected: what would you haue vs do? Then one of the companye that

stoode

stoode by, cryed out, that none oughte to bee traytours to them which put them in truste. Thou sayest well (quod Philotas) whosoeuer thou art. And therefore if I haue done treason, I require no respit of my pain. And here will I make an end of speaking, because my laste wordes seeme tedious vnto your eares. As he was speakyng these wordes, his kepers led hi away. There was amõgst ẏ captaines one Belon, a hardy mã, but very rude of al honest manner & ciuilitie, who being an olde souldiour, was promoted from lowe estate, to ẏ rowme of a captain. This Belon presuming vppon a foolish audacitie (whẽ al others had don) begã to tel thẽ, ẏ when diuers hadde taken vp their lodgigs in ẏ cãp, how they were thrust out by ẏ seruãts of Philotas, which would lay their baggage wher other mẽ were placed before: & how al ẏ streates were full of his wagõs, ladẽ wᵭ gold & siluer. Hee added further that Philotas would suffer none to lodge neare him, but alwais appointed certaine to wait whiles he slept, which should void al men aloufe, to thentẽt he should not be disquieted wᵭ any noyse: not so muche for wakenig of hi, as for his diseasig, & how he was so haut ẏ he despised ẏ plain mẽ of *Phrigia*, & *Paphlagonia*, & beeing a Macedõ born, would not be ashamed to heare men of hys owyn natiõ by an ĩterpt, & whereas Philotas

had before moued to haue the Oracle of *Iupiter* enquired of, he saide it was ment therby to make God a lyer, for knowledginge Alexander to be his sonne: as thoughe anye man shoulde envy the kinge for that tytle which the Gods had geuen him. But why (q̄ he) dyd he not aske cōsel of *Iupiter* before he did offend? For nowe he would haue vs sende for an Oracle, that in ẏ meane season hys father whyche ruleth in *Media*, myghte rayse a power vp, & with the money that he hath in custody assemble desperate persons to the felowshyp of his mischiefe. Neuertheless we shall (q̄ he) sende to *Iupiter*, not to enquire of anye thing touching the matter, but to geue hym thankes, and do hym sacrifyce, for the preseruacion of so good a king. Then all the companye was moued, and amonges the kinges houshold ther began a crye that the traytour shoulde be rent in peeces. Whyche thynge Philotas (whoe feared more greuous punishment) was cōtent to heare. The king returning into the pleasse differred the counsell tyll the nexte day, for to commit Philotas either to prison their to be racked, or els in the meane seasō to get further knowlege of thinges. And albeit it drew towardes night, yet cōmanded

he

he his counсel to be called together. Some of thē thought it best Philotas should bee stoned to death after ỹ Macedōs laws. Ephestion, Craterus, & Cen⁹, determined to haue the troth tried by tozments, and then theye which coūceled the cōtrary, turned to their opinion. Therfoze when the councell was bzoken vp: Ephestion, wyth Craterus and Cenus arose to take Philotas to theramynacion. The king called Crater⁹ vnto him, & commaunding the rest to auoid, had secret cōmunication wō him in the innermost part of his lodging, theffect whereof came not to any mans knowledge: And there taried till the night was farre passed, to heare the end of theraminatiō. The executioners set fozth al sozts of cruel tozmēts in ỹ syghte of Philotas, who of his owne mind said vnto thē. Why differre you to kil such one as hath confessed himself ỹ kings enemy & a traytour? what needeth moze examinatiō? It was mine entent it was my will. Craterus minde was, that whatsoeuer was confessed befoze, shoulde bee confessed by Philotas againe vpon the racke. Which whiles he was taken vp, his eies bounden, & spoiled of his clothes, cryed out vppon the lawe of nature, and the Goddes of the coūtreye. But all was in vaine to theire deafe eares. Fynally as a condēpned mā, he was

torne with most extreme torments bye his enemies, that wrong him sore for the kings pleasure. And notwithstanding that, both fyer & scourges were ministred vnto hym, more to paine him, then for any examinacions sake: yet he had power of himselfe to refrayne both from speaking & groning. But after that his bodye began to boine w̄ strypes, and that he coulde not abide the scourges which pearced vnto ẏ bare bones: Thē he promised if they would torment him noe more, he woulde confesse what soeuer theye should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the lyfe of Alexander that they should cesse their tormentes, & set the racke aside. The which thing obtained, he saide to Craterus: Tell me what ye wil haue me to confesse? Therat Craterꝰ was displeased, thinking by those wordes that he had mocked him, & caused his tormentes to be renued. Then Philotas besoughte hym to haue a time of respite whiles hee myght take his breath, and then he would vtter all that euer he knew. In the mean season, the chiefe of the men at armes, & especially such as were neare to Parmenio in anye degree of kinred, after that the fame hadde bruted that Philotas was tormented, fearing the

Macedons

Macedons lawe (wherein it was ordeyned that the kinsfolke of suche as had don treason against the king, should be put to death with the traytours: some slewe thē selues, some fledde into wilde mountaines, & waste wildernesses, and great dread and feare fel thorough al the hoast, vntill suche tyme as the king hauing knowledge of the vprore, made proclamacion that hee would pardon the rigour of the lawe to the kinsfolke of the traitors. But in conclusiō Philotas made this confession, whether it were to delyuer him selfe out of paine by accusing hym selfe falsly or not, it is doubted: seeing it is commonly sene, that both such as truely cōfesse, and falsely denye, come all to one ende. You are not ignorant (quod he) how familiar myne father was with Egilocus. I mean the same that was slaine in the fielde: he was the cause of al oure mischicfe. For when the king tooke vpon him the title of Jupiters sonne, he disdained therat. Shall we knowe ledge him (quod he) to bee oure kyng. that taketh scorne that Philippe was his father? Wee are all vndone if wee can suffer thys. He doth not onelye despise men, but the Gods also, whyche wyll bee reputed a Godde. Wee haue loste Alexander, wee haue loste oure kyng. Wee are fallen to presumption, neyther tollerable to the Goddes, with whom hee compareth, neyther to men whom hee despiseth. Haue wee with oure blonde made him a God, which despiseth vs? whych dysdaineth to be in the number of mē? Trust me that we also

if we be men, shalbe adopted likewise of the gods. Who hath reuenged the deathes of Alexander hys graundfather, or of Archilaus or Perdicas? But this man (quod he) hath forgeuen them that slewe his father. These were the woordes that Egilocus spake aboute supper time, and on ỹ morow early my father sent for mee, whoe was heauy, and saw me sadde, for we both had hard that which made vs oute of quiet. Therfore to proue whether he babled those woordes through excesse of wine, or of an aduised purpose conceiued before, we thought good to send for him, & seeking occasion of ỹ same cõmunication, hee of his owne minde sayd further: ỹ if we durst vndertake the aduenture he would not shrink from vs, or yf our hartes serued not, he would keepe ours coũsail. Yet so lõg as Darius was lyuyng, my father thought al ỹ matter out of time, because the death of Alexander should be to ỹ auaile of our enemies, & not of our selues. But Darius once rid out of the waye, then he that coulde destroy the king, shoulde obtaine the Empire of *Asia* and all the orient for his rewarde: which counsaile being approued, faith & troth was geuen therupon: but concerning Dimnus I know nothing. When hee had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quod hee) that it dothe not auayle

me

me that I am vtterly giltles of this treasō. Then they renued his tormentes againe, & so beate his face and his eyes with the troncheons of theire speares, vntill theye enforced him, not onelye to confesse of him selfe, but also to shewe the circumstaunces of the whole treason prepensed. Because (quod hee) it semeth that the kyng wouldе soiourne longe among the Bactrians, I was afrayd leaste my father that had so great a power in his handes, & the keeping of so much treasure, (beeing lxxx yeares of age) should happe to die in the mean season, & then being disarmed of so great a strengthe, shoulde not get opportunity to slea the king. wherfore I hasted the matter, whiles the praye was in hand. Thus discouered he the conspiracy, wherof if they beleued his father to be authour (hee saide) for his tryall hee refused not to bee tormented againe, thought it were too greuous for him to endure. The officers then whisperig together, thought the examinacion to be sufficient, & returned therewithall to the king, which on the morow caused al the confessiō there to be openly recited before Philotas: whom he caused to bee led into the place because hee was not able to goe, and there hee confessed all the matter againe. Then Demetrius was brought forth, which was counted the greatest doer in this conspiracy next to Philotas. But he w̄ great protesta-

cyon

if we be men, shalbe adopted likewise of the gods. Who hath reuenged the deathes of Alexander hys graundfather, or of Archilaus or Perdicas? But this man (quod he) hath forgeuen them that slewe his father. These were the woordes that Egilocus spake aboute supper time, and on ỹ morow early my father sent for mee, whoe was heauy, and saw me sadde, for we both had hard that which made vs oute of quiet. Therfore to proue whether he babled those woordes through excesse of wine, or of an aduised purpose conceiued before, we thought good to send for him, & seeking occasion of ỹ same cõmunication, hee of his owne minde sayd further: ỹ if we durst vndertake the aduenture he would not shrink from vs, or yf our hartes serued not, he would keepe ours coũsail. Yet so lõg as Darius was lyuyng, my father thought al ỹ matter out of time, because the death of Alexander should be to ỹ auaile of our enemies, & not of our selues. But Darius once rid out of the waye, then he that coulde destroy the king, shoulde obtaine the Empire of *Asia* and all the orient for his rewarde: which counsaile being approued, faith & troth was geuen therupon: but concerning Dimnus I know nothing. When hee had confessed all this matter, I perceiue (quod hee) that it dothe not auayle

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tion, & incredible stoutnes both of hart and countenance, denied ỹ he euer entended any euell against the king, & for his triall desired to be tormented. Then Philotas casting his eies about, spied one Calis stãding by, and made a signe to him to drawe nere. Who being abashed, & refusing to com forwards: Wilt thou (q he) suffer Demetriꝰ to lye, & me to be strcined againe? Wythe those words Calis became specheles, & chãged colour. Then ỹ Macedõs began to suspect ỹ he would accuse innocents, because ỹ same Calis was neither named by Nicomachus, nor by Philotas him self in his formẽts. But finally Philotas before ỹ kings officers standing therabout, confessed that the treason was conspired by him selfe and Demetrius. Wherefore as many as were appeached by Nicomachus vpon a token geuen, were stoned to death accordinge to the Macedons lawe. Thus was Alexander deliuered from great perill, not onely of his lyfe but also of hys suretye. For Parmenio and Philotas beynge of suche power, yt they hadde not openlye beene founde culpable, coulde notte haue beene condemned wythe oute the grudge of the armye. So longe therefore as Phylotas denyed

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the thynge, the matter seamed doubtfull, & many men thought him cruelly handeled. But after he had cõfessed ẏ circumstaũces: no man, not so muche as his neare frendes toke any pity of him.

¶The seuenth booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, kyng of Macedon.

LIke as ẏ men of war thought Philotas iustly put to death, his offence being fresh in memory, euẽ so after he was gõ, whom they before hated, their enuye was turned to pitie. The noblenes of the young man moued them muche: so did the remembraunce of the olde yeres and desolacyon of his father. He was the firste that made the way open for Alexander into *Asia*, alwaies partaker of his perilles, as hee whyche in the warres was euer captaine of hys warde, chyefe counsaile with the king hys father, and so trustye to Alexander hymselfe, that in oppressing of Attalus hys enemye, hee woulde vse none other mannes seruice. The remembrance of these thinges was ripe among all ẏ souldiers, & sedicious words cãe to ẏ kigs eares, who being litle moued

moued therewith, did wisely with trauaile auoide the euel occasions comming of idlenes. wherefore he made it to be proclaimed that all men shoulde be in readines before the court gate, where they beinge once assẽbled, he came fourthe to speake vnto them. And as it was before deuised, requyred the bande of the Agrians to bringe fourthe one Alexander Lyncestes, whiche longe before Philotas had conspired the kinges deathe. This man beinge accused of two witnesses (as before saide) had remained in prison. iij. yeares together. Against whom it was proued that he was of counsaile with Pausanias in the killinge of king Philip. But because he saluted first Alexander by the name of kynge, hys punishement was differred, rather then his offence forgeeuen. For at the intercession of Antipater his father in lawe, the kinge had respited his iust indignacion for that tyme. But the olde festered sore brake out againe, and the consideracõ of his peril present, renued the remembrãce of his daunger passed. Therefore when he was brought fourth of prison, & commanded to saye for hym selfe, albeit he had. iij. yeares leasure to deuise hys aunswer, yet stãmering & trembling could bringe fourth

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but little of that which he purposed to saye. And finaly, both his hart & his memory failed him. Wherfore there was none ỹ doubted, but that his fearfulnes was a token of a gylty conscience, & no default of memory, so ỹ whiles he was staggeringe & hackinge in his tale, they ỹ stoode nerte thruste hym through with their pikes: whose bodye conueied out of the place, ỹ king commannded Amintas and Simmannas to be broughte fourth: for Palemõ their youngest brother after he had knowlege of Philotas tormẽt fled away. Of al Philotas frends, these. ỹ, were moste deare vnto him, & throughe hys cõmendatiõ, aduanced to high & honorable offices. The king remembringe with what earnestnes & labour Philotas had broughte them into his fauour, doubted not but they were priuy to this last cõspiracy. Wherupon he declared to ỹ multitude, ỹ he had occasiõ of suspiciõ against those mẽ long ago by his mothers letters, whereby he had warning to beware of them, & ỹ nowe fearing the sequele of worser inconueniences hadde made them sure, enforced thereunto by apparant presumptions. First he sayde ỹ day before Philotas treason came to lyghte, it was wel knowen that they had much conference

ferēce with him in secret: & also their brother which fled away whē Philotas was on the racke, he had declared by ỹ absenting of him self ỹ cause of his flyynge. He shewed also ỹ of late, contrary to their accustomed maner of waiting, without any cause mouinge thē therūto, but only by ptence of diligēce they preased next about ỹ king of al other: wherat maruellynge ỹ they would furnyshe a rowme wherunto they were not apointed, became so in doubt of their clustering together, ỹ he returned into ỹ train of ỹ gentlemen ỹ folowed him. He declared besides ỹ when Antiphanes clarke of ỹ stable, ỹ daye before Philotas treason came to lyghte, accordinge to his accustomable maner, gaue knowledge to Amintas ỹ he should deliuer of his horse to suche as had lost their owne: hee proudly aunswered againe, ỹ except he would content him selfe, he should knowe shortly what maner of mā he was. Which violence of tongue and rashenes of words bulked oute (quod he) was nothing els but a declaracion and token of hys trayterous harte. These thynges beynge trewe (he sayde) they hadde no lesse deserued then Philotas, and yf they were otherwyse, he desyred they myghte aunswere vnto the

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pointes. Thereuppon Antiphanes was brought in to geue euidence of the horse not deliuered, & of his proud aunswer geeuen wt threatning. When Amintas had gotte lybertie to speake, he desired of ye king ye whiles they aunswered for the selues, their hãdes might be losed: which thing obtained, he made suite to haue his garment cast vppon him. Which Alexãder not only graunted, but willed a weapõ to be deliuered to hys hãds, as other esquiers vsed. When hee had receiued ye same, he eschued a litle the place, where the corps of Lincestes laye, & sayd in this wise: Whatsoeuer shall become of vs (sir kyng) we must think if our chaunce bee good, the same to proceede of your fauour, and if it bee euill, wee must iudge the fault to be in oure fortune, seeyng you suffer vs to pleade our cause without preiudice, setting our minds free, & our bodies at large, & the same aparail restoring vs, wherin we were wont to folow you. Our cause is suche ye wee can not doubt of it, & wee are passed ye feare of fortune. Therefore with your fauour I wil aunswer first those pointes wherwith you charged vs last. Wee know most assuredly ye we be innocent of any kind of wordes spoken to the derogacion of your Maiestye: And durste affyrme that you hadde ouercome all enuye of menne, but that peraduenture you would think ye I went about & faire wordes to excuse things that haue ben maliciously spoken. Though it were so ye words sõtime did escape vs, either whẽ we were faint, or weried in marching,

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hasarding our selues in fightig, or els whē we wer sicke, or dressing of our woundes: oure honest doings otherwise do deserue, that yee shoulde rather impute the same to the time, then to any euil dysposicion in vs: For it is commonly seene where anye thing chaunceth amisse, all menne in maner become guilty of the faut. We do violence sometime to oure owne bodies whiche wee hate not. yea, the commyng of the fathers vnto the children sometime is both vngratefull, and also hatefull. But on ỹ other side, when we receiue rewardes or giftes, or when we come laden home with spoile, who can thē stay vs? who can restreine our chearefulnes? or who can resist our courage in fighting? The nature of man is neither to kepe measure in displeasure, nor in gladnesse. Thus are wee driuen by the violence of affection, sometime with pitye, and sometime ỹ furye, as oure present desire doth gouern vs. One while we are in minde to passe through *India* as far as the Occean sea, and by & by the memory of oure wiues, children, and countrey call vs back again, and doth alter our purpose. But as sone as ỹ trumpet bloweth, streight all these imaginacions do pas away, and euery man then runneth into his araye, reuengyng vpon their enemies the displeasures cōceiued within their lodginges. I would Philotas had offended but onely in wordes: I woulde passe ouer that, and returne to the other pointe, whereof we be accused. The frendshyp that was betwyxte Philotas and vs, I will not onelye denye, but also confesse that wee did couet the same, and receyued thereby great commoditie. Doe you marueile that wee did honour and esteeme the sonne of Parmenio, whom you did chose to be next about your person, and did aduaunce aboue al other your frends? You your selfe (if it please you to heare the trueth) are the cause of this our perill. What other thynge moued vs to couet Philotas frendshyp, then that

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we desired to please you. By his preferment we were aduaunced to the degree of your fauour. Yee stoode in such case wyth you that it behoued vs as well to sue for his beneuolence, as to feare to gett his displeasure. Haue not we sworne ꝑ we should repute your enemies our enemies? and honour your frendes as our owne? Should we haue ben founde disobedient in this bonde of our duty: and specially towardes him, whom ye did preferre aboue all men? If this be a fault, ye haue fewe innocentes, or surely none at all. All men desyred to be Philotas frendes: but all that dyd couet could not be accepted. So if ye will make no difference betwene the parteners of his treason, and suche as were his frendes: then so many be offenders as woulde haue bene his frendes. What presumption haue you now that we should offende? I thynke because yesterday Philotas talked with vs familiarly alone. Thereof I cannot excuse my selfe, if yesterday I chaunged any thing of myne accustomed maner and liuing, but if so be wee vsed euery day to do the like, then custome must needes make it to be none offence. But it may bee saide the horses were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the day before Philotas was detected, this mater was betwene Antiphanes and mee. If that be a iust cause of suspection that I woulde not then deliuer my horses, there shall arise a doubtfull plee betwene the denyer and the demaunder, sauyng that his cause is better that keepeth still his own, then his that requireth another mannes. I had tenne horses, of the whiche Antiphanes had distributed viij. to suche as had lost their owne: so there remained only two, which when he woulde proudly and wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to keepe them still, except I woulde haue serued on foote. I cannot denye but this communication was had betwene a man of a free stomake

and a person of a vyle nature, whiche could do no maner seruice, but take away mennes horses and geue them to other. What mischiefe is this, that at one tyme I must purge my selfe both to the kynge and to Antiphanes. But to the other poynt that your mother dyd write to you of vs, as of your enemies: I woulde God she had more wisely ben carefull of her sonnes safeguarde, then doubtfullye ymagined such fayned figures. Why doth shee not also expresse the cause of her feat? Besides shee sheweth not her authour, nor yet signifieth one worde whereby shee was moued to write to you such letters of feare. O wretched estate of myne, which standeth in lesse hazarde to holde my peace then to speake. Yet howsoeuer the matter shall passe: I had rather myne excuse shoulde displease you, then my cause. If you remember when you sent mee to fetche newe souldiours out of Macedon, euen then ye shewed me that in your mothers house there lurked manye lusty young gentlemen: wherfore ye commaunded mee that in executynge your commission, I shoulde spare none, but bring with me perforce all suche as refused the warres. Whiche thing I dyd, and fulfilled your will therin more largely then was expedient for mee. For I brought vnto you Gorgeas, Hecateus, & Gorgata, which now minister vnto you ryght acceptable seruice. What creature therefore is more wretched thā I, which if I had not fulfilled your will, should ryghtfully haue suffered, and now perishe because I obeyed you? For truely ther was none other cause that moued your mother to persecute vs, then that we preferred your vtilitie before a womans fauour: I brought vnto you of Macedons vi. M. fotemen, & viij. hundred horsmen, of the which the more parte would not haue folowed mee, if I had released such as would not haue come. It is reason therefore, that in as much

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as your mother is displeased wyth vs for your cause, that ye mittigate her in whose displeasure ye haue put vs. Whyles Amintas was thus pleading his cause, they that had pursued his brother Palemon (of whome we spake before) came leading him bounde into the place. Then the rage of the people coulde scarcely be pacifyed, but as the maner was in suche cases, they would haue stoned Palemon to death. Yet he boldly spake to thē and sayde. I desire no fauour for my selfe, so that my flying be not hurtfull to the innocencye of my brethren, whome if ye cannot thinke cleare, let the fault be layde to mee. For their matter appeareth the better, because I whiche fledd awaye am suspected. As soone as hee had spoken these wordes, the whole assemblye were enclyned in his fauor, & resolued to teares, being so sodainly so contrary turned, ý now they were al conuerted on his part, which a litle before were all against him. He was in the pryme flower of his youth, & through other mens feare fled away emonges those horsemen, which were amazed at Philotas torments. His cōpany had left him behynde, & whiles he was in doubt whether he might turne again, or fly further forwardes, was takē by them which pursued after him. He thā began to weepe, & beat himself about ý face: not so much lamēting his own chaūce

as that case of his brethren being in danger for his cause, with whiche his behauour he moued the kyng and all the company there present. Onely his brother Amintas could not bee pacified, but beheldе hym wyth a fierce countenaunce, and saide: O madde creature, then oughtest thou to haue wepte, when thou diddest put thy spurres to thy horse, as a traitour to thy brethren, and a companyon of traytours. Thou wretche, whether and from whence diddest thou flye? Thou hast nowe brought to passe, that both I am thought worthy of death, & also must become an accuser of other. Palemon theruppon confessed him selfe to haue offended in that point, but more grеuously against his brethren, then towardes himselfe. Then the multitude coulde not abstaine from weeping and showting: being tokens whereby menne in an assembly are wont to declare their affections: & with one consent they cryed all to the king with one voice, that he shoulde spare innocents, and men of seruice: hys frendes also vpon that occasion did rise, and with weeping eyes required ỹ king of mercy. Then he comaunded silence, and saied: By myne owne iudgement I do pardon both you Amintas and your brethren, desyrous that ye shoulde bee more myndfull of my benefite, then of your owne ieopardye. Come in fauour againe with mee with that fidelitie I am reconciled vnto you. Excepte those

those thinges whiche were brought in euidence had ben debated and tryed to the vttermost, my dissimulacion myght haue beene suspected in thys matter. Better it is therefore to be cleared, then to remayne in ielousye, and thinke that no man can be acquited, except he be first detected. Thou Amintas pardon thy brother, and let that be a token of thy hart reconciled vnto mee. This done the king dismissed the assemblye and sent for Poledamus, whome of all men Parmenio loued best, accustomed alwayes to stande next him in battayl. And though the clerenes of his conscience did assure him to come boldlye: yet after he was commaunded to bring fourth his brethren being but young, and vnknowen to the king, his confidence was turned into feare, & began to doubte, imagining in his mynd rather such things as myght hurt him, then by what meanes he was thus circumuented. In the meane season the guarde which had commaundement thereunto, brought fourth hys brethren. When the kyng sawe Poledamus pale for feare, he called him neare, and cōmaunding all men aparte, saide vnto him: Through Parmenio his treason, wee were all in daunger, but chiefly I and thou, whom vnder colour of frendship, he deceiued most: In the pursuyng and punishement of whome, see howe muche I trust thy fidelitie: for I am determined to vse thee as a minister therein, and whyles thou goest

about it, thy brethren shalbee thy pledges. Thou shalt go into *Media* and beare my letters to my officers, written wyth myne owne hande. It is necessary haste be made, that the swiftnes of ỹ fame may be preuented. I will that ye come thyther in the nyght, and that the tenour of my wrytyng bee executed the day after. Ye shall cary letters lykewyse to Parmenio, one from me, & another written in the name of Philotas. I haue his signet in my custody. So that when Parmenio shall see bothe you, and the letter sealed with his sonnes ryng, he wilbe without any suspicion. Polidamus being thus deliuered of feare, promysed hys diligence a greate deale more earnestly, then he was required. When Alexander sawe his promptnes in the matter, both commended his good wil, & rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamus chaunged his owne apparell, and tooke other after the Araby fashion, with two men of the same countrey to be his guydes, for whose truthe their wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camels thorough suche places as were desert for lacke of moysture, and within .xi. dayes came to their iourneyes ende, before any knewe of their comming. Polidamus then tooke againe his Macedons apparell, & in the dead of the nyght, came into Cleanders lodgyng, whiche hadde the chiefe auc-

authoritie there, nexte vnto Parmenio.
When Cleander by his letters vnderstode the kynges pleasure, Polidamus hauynge more letters to deliuer lykewise to others, agreed by the spring of the daye to goe altogethers vnto Parmenio. As they were goyng, tydynges came to Parmenio of Polidamus arryuall, who reioysing bothe for the comming of his frende, and for the desire he had to know of the kinges estate (the rather because he had receiued no letter frō him a long space) commaunded Polidamus to be sought out. The houses of that countrey haue large backesydes, and pleasaunt orchardes full of trees: being ỹ chiefe delyght of Pynces, and great lordes there. The Capitaynes whyche hadde receyued commaundement by the kynges letters to kyll hym, came to Parmenio, walkyng vnder the shadowe of the trees, being agreed emonges them selues to execute the thing, when hee shoulde begynne to reade hys letters. So soone as Parmenio hadde espyed Polidamus commynge a farre off, wyth a semblaunt of ioye (as it appeared by his countenance) ranne to embrace him, and after salutacion geeuen eche to other, deliuered ỹ kings letter. As he was vnclo-

sing it, he demaunded of Polidamus what the king intended to doe: you shall knowe that (quod he) by the contentes of your letters. Which when he had read: I perceyue (quod Parmenio) that the king purposeth a voyage agaynst the Arochosians: surely he is a painfull prince and neuer in rest. But nowe after so muche glory wonne, it were tyme for him to take his ease, & haue consideracō of his health and saufeguard. And then hee read the other letter written in the name of Philotas, whereat he was ioyfull as appeared by hys countenaunce. With that Cleander stabbed him with his sword into the side, and after striking hym ouer the throte, the residue thrust hym in as he lay dying. But Parmenio his mē which stoode neare at hande, and salwe the murder, wherof they knewe not the cause, ran into the campe, and wyth theire troublous tydinges, sett all the souldiours in a roze. They ran streight to harneys, and clustring togeather about the place where the murder was done, made an exclamacion, that except Polidamus and the other doers of that deede were deliuered to theire handes, they woulde ouerthrowe the wall, and make sacrifice to their dead Capitain with

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the blonde of the offenders. Cleander willed the chiefe of them to be let in, and receyued the kinges letters, wherin was conteined the treason of Parmenio intended against him, with a request to them to see it reuenged. Then immediatly vppon the kinges pleasure knowen, the sedicion was appeased, but the grudge was not ridd out of their heartes. The most parte departed, sauyng a fewe, whiche required instantlye that at the least they might bee suffered to bury the bodye. It was denyed them long by reason of Cleander, who dreaded the kinges displeasure: but because they beganne to ware more earnest, intending to auoyde matter of sedicion, he cut of the head whyche he sent to the kynge and left them the body to burye. This was the ende of Parmenio, a noble man bothe in warre & peace: many thinges had he done valyantly without the kyng: but the kyng without him dyd neuer anye thing worthye prayse. He serued & satisfyed in all affaires a kynge most happy and fortunate, and being irr. yeres of age, executed the office of a Capitaine as lyuely as though he had been yong in yeres, and pretermitted not often times the partes of a common souldiour. He was

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quicke in counsel, doubty of deede, welbe-loued of all princes, but moste deare to the common sorte of souldiours. Yet whether those thinges did moue him to court to bee king, or els caused him to be suspected therof, it is yet doubted. For whether ỳ wordes that Philotas spake, when hee was ouercome with the paynes in his last torments were true or false, or els that hee sought an ende of his paine by accusing him self falsly, it was much doubtful, seeing there was nothing proued at suche tyme as ỳ matter was moste freshe in memory. Such as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas, were seperated from the reste of the armye, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas their Capitain, which in tymes past was of neare familiaritie with Parmenio: The king bare priuie displeasure against them, & therfore willyng to proue ỳ disposition of euery mã, gaue warning thoroughout the armye, ỳ all suche as woulde write into *Macedonia*, & haue their letters surely cõueyed, should bring them to be caryed wỏ such as he would send. Wherupon euery man did write frankly to their frends such thinges as were in their hartes. Some shewed them selues to be offended wyth ỳ

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long warres: & some semed to be well pleased. But all their letters were intercepted, aswel of suche as cõmended the kyng, as of those ỹ grudged at his doinges. Wherfore he willed suche as by theire letters disclosed thẽselues to bee wery of the trauaile of the warres, for their reproch to be put in band, aparte from the rest. Wherby he both gaue them occasion to shew their hardines, & besides remoued the libertie of their tongues frõ the credulous eares of the rest. Which rashe deuyse, as all other things, turned to the setting fourth of the kings felicitie. For in all extremities they shewed themselues the readiest & the most forward: & whyles they coueted to redeme their reproche, their valyaunt doinges could not be hidden in so small a number seperate by them selues. These thinges being ordered after this maner, he appointed a ruler ouer the Arians, & proclaymed his iourney against the Arasptans: which, by chaunging of their name, were called Euergitans, since the tyme ỹ they releeued Cirus army with lodging & victuals being afflicted with colde and penury. It was the fyft daye before he entred into their countrey, where hee vnderstoode ỹ Satribarzanes which tooke Bessus parte

was

was with a power of horsemen entered a-gainc amongs the Arians. He sent against him Caranus and Erigius, & in theire aide Artabasus, and Andromachus withe syre thousand Greeke footemen, & sire hundred horsemen. Alexander continued. ir. dayes in settinge order amonges the Euergitans: vpon whom he bestowed a great summe of money, for the notable fidelity they shewed towardes Cirus: and leuinge Amenides to be theire gouernour (who was Darius secretarie) he went to subdue the Arachosians, whyche border vppon the sea of *Ponte*. The men of warre that were vnder Parmenio his rule, came then to Alexander, beinge syr thousand Macedons, with two hundred of the nobilitie, v. M. Greeke footemē, and two hundred horsemen, which were the chiefest force of his power. To these Arachosians, Mennon was appointed lieuetenaunt with. tiij. thousand footemen, and. bi C. horsemen. Alexander from thence entered with his army into a countrey not knowen to suche as bordered vpon it: for thinhabitauntes would not haue conuersacion with any other people. They were called Paramisadans, beinge a rusticall kinde of men, and most rude amonges al the barba-

rous

roas nacions: the hardnes of the countrey had so indurated theire disposicions. They lye moste towardes the colde North pole, toyning with the Bactrians vpon the west, and bending towardes the *Indian* sea vpō ȳ southe. They vse to builde theire houses of bricke, and because the lande is full of barreine mountaines and voide of timbre they make their whole houses of ȳ same, whiche beginning broad beneath, growinge euermore narrowe towardes the toppe, end like the keles of a shippe, whereas the holes be made aboue to receiue light. Such of theire vynes and trees that bring fourth fruit, as they will preserue from the violence of the colde, they couer them with earthe duringe the winter season, and when the snowe ys banished away, they restore thē againe to ȳ ayer and to the sunne. The earth was there couered with snow frosen so hard, that ther remained no sygne of anye birde or beaste within the countrey. The ayre besides was so darke, that little light appeared: but the earthe couered as it were with a dym shadowe, men coulde scarcely discerne thinges bery neare at hand. The armye brought in to thys countrey destitute of all cultuacion of manne, suffered all the discommodityes

and

and miseries that myght be endured, bothe of hungre, colde, werines, and dispayre. There were manye of them that dyed for cold: & the snowe destroyed their feete: but specially it perished manye mennes syght. When they were wered and not able to trauaile any further, they laied them selues downe vpon the frosen snowe, and hauing once lefte the mocyon of their bodies, which sturred in them theire naturall heate, they were streight wayes so nummed for colde, that they coulde not ryse agayne, tyll they were lifte vp by their companions. And remedy was there none in this matter, but to compell them to go forwardes: for then by sturring of them selues their natural heate was reuiued, & they recouered againe some strengthe. Suche as recouered the cotages wherin the countreymen dwelled, were verie wel refreshed. But the darcknes was so great, that the houses coulde not be otherwise discerned then by the smoke. The inhabiters that had neuer seen strangers before amonges them, when they beheld the armed men comming sodainly vpon them, were amased for feare, and brought fourth what soeuer they had, to saue their bodyes from violence. Alexaunder went on hys

feete

ſeete amonges hys menne, rayſynge ſuche as were lyynge, and releuinge ſuche as he ſawe afflicted wythe the colde, wythe hys owne clothes. He was ſeene, one whyle in the foꝛwarde, another while in the middeſt and ſometime in the rereward to the great trauaile of hys bodie. At lengthe they came to places better manured, where he refreſhed his army with plenty of victuals, and there remayned in campe tyll ſuche tyme as all that were lefte behynde, came vnto theire fellowes. Then he went foꝛwardes wythe his armye to the Mounte *Caucaſus*, whiche deuideth all *Aſia* into two partes. Foꝛ on the one ſyde it ſtretcheth towardes the ſea of *Cilicia*, and on the other ſyde to ꝯ *Caſpian* ſea, to the riuer of *Araxes*, and the deſertes of *Scithia*. To this Mount *Caucaſ* there ioyneth an other Mountayne called *Taurus*, nexte vnto yt in bygnes, whiche ryſeth from *Capadocia*, and paſſing by *Cilicia*, cloſeth wyth the Mountaynes of *Armenia*. Out of theſe Mountaines ioyning thus together as yt were in one continuall rydge, all the Ryuers of *Aſia* do deſcende. Some of them runnynge into the Red ſea, ſome into the *Caſpian*, and *Hircanian* ſea, & other into ꝯ Sea of *Ponte*. In ryy. dates Alexãder

with

wyth his army passed the mount *Caucasus*, where in a rocke that is.x. furlonges in cõpasse, and fower in heyght, the antiquitye fained that Prometheus laye bound. At the foote of this mountayne Alexander chose out a place to buyld a citie, wherein he placed vij. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, & suche other besides, whose seruice he woulde not vse any moze in the warres, and called the same Alexandzia. But Bessus that was put in feare with Alexanders celeritie, made sacrifice vnto the Goddes of hys countrey, and accozdynge to the custome of those nacyons, consulted wyth his frendes and hys Capitaines, foz the maintenaunce of the warres being at meate. And when they were well charged wyth wine, they extolled greatlye theire owne power, dispising the rashenes of their enemies, and their small number. But chiefely Bessus was most arrogãt in his wozds, who puffed vp with pryde by reason of the kyngdome he had newly gotten by treasõ, and not master of his wittes, beganne to declare, howe that Darius by hys follye hadde encreased hys enemies fame, who would needes fight wt them in ẏ streightes of *Cilicia*, when by retyzing backe he might haue

haue drawen them (before they had beene ware) into desert places, & there haue put ryuers and mountaines betwene his enemies & him, and emonges the same so enclosed them, that they could by no possibilitie haue fledd away, and muche lesse make any resistance. Wherfore (he sated) he was become of opinion to retire back emonges the Sogdians, whereas the ryuer of *Oxus* should be as a wall betwixt him & his enemies, till such tyme as he might assemble a strong power of the nacyons there about: knowing very well that the Chorasmions, the Dahans, and Sacans, the Indians and Scithians inhabiting beyond the ryuer of *Tanais*, woulde come to his assistaunce: of whome there was none so lyttle, that anye Macedon with the toppe of his head coulde reache to his shoulders. They all in theire dronkennes assented to him, affirming that onely to be the wysest waye. Whereupon Bessus caused the wyne to be caried about plentifullye to conquere Alexander vppon drink. There was at that feast one Cobares a Median, whiche in the Arte Magike (if it be an Arte, and not rather a disceyt of some vaine man) was more notable by his profession then by his knowlege, but other-

wise a moderate and an honest man. He making a preamble before his tale, sayed: He was not ignorannt howe much better it were to bee obedyent to others counsell, then to be a counsell geuer. For suche as be followers of other mennes deuyses, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the rest: but suche as be authors and perswaders of any matter, commonly prepare their owne perill, and therewith deliuered the cupp he had in his hande, and proceeded thus. The nature of man in this respect maye bee called perners and euill, because euery one can see better in other mennes matters, then in their owne. Their counsels must needes bee alwayes full of perturbacions, which take their own aduyse. For feare is impediment to some, desyre vnto other, and to many the selfe loue of the thing that they haue deuised. I will not speake of pride, nor impute it vnto any man. Ye haue seene experience howe euerye one doth esteeme that thing only to be best, whiche he himself hath inuented. The Diademe of a king that you wear vppon your head is a great burden: which if it be borne moderately, the weight therof will oppresse the bearer. It is not fury can auayl in this case, but wyse and prudent counsayle. When he had spoken those wordes, he rehearsed a prouerbe comonly vsed emonges the Bactrians, whiche is, that a fearfull dogge doth barke more then byte, and that the deapest ryuers dothe runne with least noyse. Whiche thinges I haue rehearsed,

because

because such prudence maye appeare as remayned emonges the Barbarous. As he talked after this maner, such as heard hym wondered to what ende his tale woulde come. Then he began to shew his aduyse, which was moze profitable to Bessus then gratefull. Alexanders celeritie (qō he) is suche that he is come in maner to ẏ entrey of your court. He can remoue his armye before you can remoue this table. You saye that you will drawe your assistance from the ryuer of *Tanais*, and that you will put ryuers betwixt you & your enemies. I would know if he be not able to followe, whersoeuer you shall flye. If the way be indifferent, it must needes be most easy & assured to the victozer. And though you thinke feare will make much speede, yet hope is moze swift. It were therefoze me thinkes expedient to procure the fauour of him that is ẏ mightiest, & yeld your selfe vnto the stronger. How so euer hee shall accept it, your foztune is moze lyke to be better that way, then to remaine still an enemye. Consyder that you possesse another mans kyngdome, and therefoze ye may the better depart therwithall. Foz ye cannot be a iust kyng, till you receiue the kingdome of hym ẏ is able to gyue it, & take it away. This is a faithfull counsel: wherfoze it is not necessary to delaye the execuciō therof. The hozse that is of noble courage wilbee gouerned with the shadow of a rodd. But the dull beast is not pricked fozward wyth the Spurres. Bessus that was fierce of nature & wel set fozwardes with drinking, became in suche a furye wō his wozdes, that he could scarcely be holden by hys frendes from the sleynge

of Cobares, for he pulled out his sworde to haue done the deede, and departed out of ỹ feast in a great rage. But Cobares in this sturre escaped away, and came vnto Alexander. Bessus had viij. M. Bactrians armed attending vpon him: Whiche so long as they iudged that by reason of the intemperatenes of the ayre in those partyes, the Macedons woulde rather haue gone into *India* then into *Bactria*, were very obediẽt at his commaundement. But when they vnderstood that Alexander was comming towardes them, euery one shroke awaye, & forsoke Bessus. Then he with a bande of his familie whiche were yet faithfull vnto hym, passed the riuer of *Oxus*, burning such boates as caried him ouer, because that the same should not serue his enemy in folowing him, & assembled a new power emõges the Sogdians. Alexander as it hath bene saied before, passed the mount *Caucasus*: but for lacke of corne his army was brought in maner to the extremitie of honger. In stede of oyle they were faine to anoynt thẽselues wt a iuyce which they wring out of *Sesema*: but euery measure thereof called *Amphora* was solde for ccxl. deniers: euery like measure of honye for cccxc. and of wyne for ccc.

and

and yet of the same was verye little to bee gotten. They haue in that countrey certayne vessels called *Sirye*, which thinhabitauntes vse to hyde so prluily, that they can not be founde except they be digged for wtin the earth. The countreymen burye theyre corne after that maner, for want whereof the Souldiours were fayne to lyue wyth herbes, and suche fishe as they caught in the ryuers. But that kinde of foode wantyng also, they were enforced to slea their cariage beastes, and lyued with the flesche of them till they came into *Bactria*, the nature of the soyle of whiche countrey is dyuers and of sundry kyndes. Some place is plentifull of wood and vynes, and aboundaunte of pleasaunt fruite, the ground fatt, well watered and full of sprinnges. Whose partes which be most temperate are sowed with corne, and the rest be reserued for feedyng of beastes. But the greater parte of that countrey is couered ouer with baraine sandes, and wythered vp for want of moysture, nourishing neither man, nor brynging fourth frute: But wyth certain windes that come from the Sea of *Ponte*, the sande in the plaines is blowen together in heapes, whyche seeme a farre of like greate

hilles, whereby the accustomed wayes be so dammed, that no signe of them can appeare. Therefore suche as doe passe those plaines, vse to obserue the starres in the nyght, as they do whiche sayle the seas, by the course of them directing theire iourney. The nyghtes for the more parte be brighter then the dayes: wherfore in the day time ỹ countrey is wyld and vnpassable, when they can neither fynde any tracte nor way to go in, nor marke nor signe whereby to passe, the starres being hidden by the mist. If the same wynd chaunce to come during the tyme that men be passing, it ouerwhelmeth them with sande. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth forth greate plenty both of men and horse: So that the Bactrians may make xxx. thousand horsemen. *Bactria* which is the head citie of that region, standeth vnder a mountaine called *Parapanisus*: the ryuer called *Bactras* runneth by the walles, whereof bothe the Citie and the countrey take their names. Alexander lying there in campe, receiued aduertisement out of *Greece*, how the Lacedemonians, and the whole countrey of *Peloponese* had rebelled against him. For they had not lost the battaile at such tyme as the messen-

messengers were dispatched that brought the newes of their reuolt. In the necke of this euill tidinges there came another present terrour, which was that the Scithians inhabiting beyond the riuer of *Tanais* were comming to ayde Bessus. And at ỹ same tyme tydynges came to him of the battayle that Caranus and Erigius had fought wᵗ the Arians, where Satibarzanes that was newlye reuolted being chiefe of the countrey, seeing the battayle to remayne equall on bothe sydes, ridde into the foze front, and plucked of hys helmet, forbidding anye of hys syde eyther to cast Darte, or stryke stroke, and there made a challenge to fyght hande to hande, if anye man durste come fourth and proue his strength. Erigius capitayne to the Macedons was a man striken in yeres, but yet not inferiour to any young man, eyther in stoutnes of stomake, or strength of bodye, who coulde not beare the proude arrogancye of Satibarzanes, but stepped fowardes, and pluckynge of hys helmet lykewyse, shewed his hoare heare. The daye is come (quod he) that I wyll shewe eyther by the victorye, or by my honest deathe, what kinde of men Alexander hath to his frends & his souldiours: &

wythout more woꝛdes made towardes his enemye. It coulde not be iudged, but that both armies had stayed their handes by appoyntment. Foꝛ they gaue backe immediatly on bothe sydes, to let them haue free scope, eche partye standynge in expectation what should become of the challengers: foꝛ they coulde not but thinke themselues partakers of their aduenture. Satibarzanes fyꝛst charged his staffe, whiche Erigius auoyded by bendyng his heade aside, but he in the mydde of his race, strake the other with his speare thꝛough the thꝛote, so that it came fourth againe at his necke. Satibarzanes vppon that stroke fell from hys hoꝛse, but yet made resistaunce til such time as Erigius plucked the speare out of the wound, and thꝛust it again into his mouth: who to rydd him selfe out of payne, furthered his enemies stroke. Then the Arians seeing their capitayne slayne, whome they had folowed rather of necessitie thā of their owne free willes, called to remembꝛaunce Alexanders benefites, and yelded thēselues to Erigius. Alexander reioyced muche of the good successe of this matter, doubting greatly the Lacedemonians: but hee bare out their rebellion stoutly, saiyng that they durst

Satibarzanes gl̄ came in a single combate By Erigius a mayor on Captaine bold armed present by Erigius an ancient malapta

durſt neuer diſcloſe their meanyng, tyl they knew he was come to the confines of *India*. Alexander hauyng remoued hys campe, & goyng forwardes in the purſuit of Beſſus, Curigius mett hym, preſentyng the ſpoyle of his enemy, as a memory of his victorye. Thereupon he cõmitted the rule of *Bactria* to Artabazis, where wyth a guariſon he lefte his cariage, and wyth a power that was light to iourney, entered into the deſertes of the Suſitanes, conueying his army by nyght. In the want of water (that hath bene declared before) deſperacion moued them to thirſt before they had deſyre to drinke. For by the ſpace of fiftye hundred furlonges, they founde no water at all. The vapour of the Sunne being in the ſommer ſeaſon dyd ſo burne the ſande, that when it began to ware hoat, it ſtarched all thynges as it had bene with a continuall fyre. And then the lyght ſomewhat obſcured by a miſt that roſe out of the earth by the immoderat heat, cauſed the plaines to haue appearaunce of a maine ſea. Their iourney in ỹ nyght ſeemed tollerable, becauſe theyr bodies were ſomewhat refreſhed with the dewe and the colde of the morninge. But when the day came, & the heat roſe, then the

drought

drought drying vp al the naturall humors: both their mouthes and their bowels were enflamed for heate. Then their hearts fayled, and their bodyes fainted, being in case that they could neither stand still, nor passe forwardes: A fewe that were taught by such as knewe the countrey, had gotten water, whiche refreshed them somewhat: but as the heate encreased, so theire desyre grewe agayne to drinke. Then was there no remedy but to geue emonges the souldiers all the wyne and oyle that remained in store. For drinke was so swete vnto thē, that it tooke awaye the feare of any thyrste to come. But suche as had gulled in gredely the water that they gote, became so beauy, ỹ they were neither able to beare their armour, nor go forwardes: so that they seemed then moste happy that had gotten no water at al: for such as had taken of it inordinatly were enforced by vomit to put vp ỹ same againe. As Alexander carefull in this calamitie stood with his frendes that were perswading of him to haue respect to hym selfe, for that he onely, and the greatnes of his heart should be relicke vnto this aduersitie: There came two souldiours, whyche going before with suche as had taken vp ỹ campe

campe, had found water, and were carying of it in bottelles vnto their sonnes, whiche were sore afflicted for want of drinke behynde in the armye. When they salwe the kyng, one of them opened his bottell, and fillyng a cup that he had, presented water to the kyng: who receyuyng it at his hande, demaunded to whome they caried that water: they sayde to their sonnes. Then he restored to him the cup againe full as it was geuen him, and saied: I will not drinke alone: for so little cānot be deuyded emonges vs all. Make you haste therefore to carye to your sonnes that you haue gottē with your trauayle. But he traueled so long, that before nyght hee came to the ryuer of *Oxus*: The more parte of the armye, not able to followe for feblenes, were left farre behind: to the intent therfore that suche as followed after, might knowe where the campe was become, he caused a fyre to bee made in the top of an hill, & gaue order, that when ẏ vaward had refreshed themselues w̄ meate & drinke, they shoulde fill their bottels wyth water, and go backe w̄ the same to relieue their felowes. The breath of such as dronk intemperatelye closed vp, and they dyed immediatly: the nūber of whom was greater then

then euer Alexander loſte in anye battaile. But he woulde neither put of harneis, refreſhe him ſelfe with meate or drinke, nor eaſe his body: but ſtoode in the way where his army paſſed, not departinge till the laſt man was come into the camp. He watched all that night, and paſſed it ouer in greate trouble of minde. And the daye that enſued brought no releaſe of his care. For there were neither boates to paſſe the riuer with all, nor he coulde make any bridge, ſeeinge there was no woode growing nye at hand. But at length he found out a deuiſe, whereunto onelye neceſſitie did driue him. They tooke beaſtes ſkins and ſtuffed them full of ſtrawe, whereupon they layed them ſelues, and ſo ſwome ouer the water. Such as firſt recouered the further ſyde, ſtoode in order of battail tyll the reſt were paſſed: by which meanes in fiue dayes he conueyed ouer hys whole armye. Hauing thus paſſed ouer the riuer of *Oxus*, his purpoſe was to paſſe forwardes in the purſuite of Beſſus, till he vnderſtoode ſuche thinges as had chaunced amongs the Suſians. There was one Spitamenes, whom Beſſus chiefly honoured of al his frendes. But there be no benefits that can ſtaye a manne geeuen to perfide

and

ad falshode: whiche in him was the more ollerable, because he iudged no mischief to greate for him that hath slaine his prince. For the reuenge of Darius was a faire colour to his offence: but it is to be thought, that his present fortune was more enuyed, then his doinge by passe hated. When yt was knowen that Alexaunder had passed the Riuer of *Oxus*, Spitamenes did associat with hym in counsell of his enterprise Dataphernes, and Catenes, whome Bessus specially trusted. They agreed to the matter more readely thã he would desire them, and takinge to them. viij. younge men that were stronge of personage, vsed this kinde of policie. Spitamenes repaired to Bessus, and getting him alone, enfourmed him that he had founde out holye Dataphernes and Catenes had conspired to deliuer him aliue into Alexanders hands, wheras (he sayde) he had preuented them, whiles they were about theire purpose, hauinge taken them bothe, and put them faste in prison. Bessus then thinkinge him selfe muche bounde to him for so greate a good turne, gaue him many thankes. And for the desyre he had to be reuenged of his enemies, willed Spitamenes to bryng them to his presence. He

caused

caused their handes to bee bounde behynde their backes, and to be brought by suche as were priuie to their confederacye. When they came in Bessus presence, he beheld them with a fell countenance, and rose vp to haue striken at them. But they left then their counterfaiting, and streightways enclosing Bessus about, bound him strugling in vaine, & pulled the Dyademe from hys head, tearing his garment from his backe, whiche sometime belonged to hys Prince, whome he had slaine. When he sawe hym selfe in this case, he confessed that the gods had rightfully reuenged hys treasō, & perceyued by plague they sēt him, ỹ both they fauoured Darius, and were frendes to Alexander, whose enemyes euermore preferred his victory. It is vncertayne whether ỹ multitude woulde haue assisted Bessus or no: but that Spitamenes had deuysed the thing to be don by Alexanders apointmēt, wherby he put thē in feare being yet doubtfull of mynde, & set Bessus vppon an horse, whereupon hee brought him vnto Alexander. He in the meane season had chosen out nyne hundred, suche as by reason of theire age were not meete for the warres, & gaue to euery horseman twoe talentes, and to

euery

euery footeman, three thousande denyers. That done he dispatched them home, and gaue thankes vnto the rest, because they promysed to continue with hym till he had brought his warres to an end. Bessus was presented vnto him at a lytle town, whereof the inhabiters bee called *Branchidans*; which in tymes past by the commaundement of Xerxes when he came out of *Greece*, were brought from *Miletum* and placed there, because that in hys fauour they had violated a Temple called *Dydyma*. They hadde not all together forgotten theyre countrey customes, but hadde myxed their tongue, whiche by little and little were fallen from their own language, & yet had not attained the countrey speach. They receiued the king wyth great ioy, yeldynge them selues and their Citie vnto his wyll. Wherupō he called vnto him the *Milesians* that serued him in his warres (who bare an auncient hatred against the generation of the *Branchidans*) and put in their handes to determine whether they woulde saue them for the countrey sake, or els destroye them for the iniury they had done in times past. But when the *Milesians* coulde not agree in opinīō, he saide he would order the matter

matter him selfe. The next daye when the Branchidans came to meete him, he returned them all againe into the Citie, and cõmaunded his footemen to enclose the citie about, and entered wyth suche as hee appointed for the purpose, and by a token geuen, put all to the swoorde, and spoyled the Citie as a receptacle of traytours. They being wythout armour and vnprouyded, were slaine in euery place. For neyther ỹ affinitie of theire tongue, nor any prayer or intercession could mittigate their enemyes crueltie, whiche after the destruccion of the towne did cast downe the walles to ỹ groũd, so that no memory therof shoulde remayne: That done they did not only cutt downe ỹ woodes, wherein they vsed their sacrifice: but also plucked vp the trees by the rootes, that the grounde myght be left barraine as a deserte. If the same thinges had ben done agaynste the very offendours, the reuenge might haue beene thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predecessours vpon ỹ posteritie, it might be thought a cruell acte, seeyng there was not any of them that had euer seene *Miletum*, or done to Xerres any kinde of pleasure. As Alexander remoued from thence towardes the riuer of *Tanais*,

Bessus

Bessus was brought before him, not onely bound as a captiue, but also spoiled of al his garments: whō Spitamenes led in a chein put about his necke: a pleasant sight to behold, as wel to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come wᵗ hym into Alexanders presence, hee sayde: I haue broughte heare vnto you the killer of hys owne master, after the same maner that he himselfe gaue the example: wherin I haue bothe reuenged Darius that was nyse kyng, and you also ꝑ nowe haue gote the souereignitie. Let Darius open hys eyes, and rise from death to behold this sight, that was vnworthy of suche an end, and worthy to receiue suche a comforte as this is. After that Alexander had geeuen Spitamenes thanks, he turned himselfe vnto Bessus, and saide: What beastly woodnes mooued thee to take thyne owne prince prisoner, and afterwardes to kil him, hauing so well deserued of thee: of whyche thy doynges thou haste receyued sufficyent reward, by vsurpyng of the counterfaite name of a Kyng. He hadde no hart to make aunswer, nor excuse his offence, saying that he faid: hee toke vpon him to be king, because hee mighte deliuer him possession of the countrey; which thing if he had omitted, some other he sayd would take it in hand. Then Alexander called for Oxatres Darius brother, whom hee had placed about his person, and cōmytted Bessus to his keping, to thintent he should

cutte of hys eares and his nose, and hange him vppon a crosse, causing hys owne men to shoote him thorough with arrowes, and so preserue his bodye that birdes shoulde not touche him. Dratres promised to performe al the rest, sauing the keping away of the birdes, whiche for the desire hee had to sette forthe Catenes cunnyng, affyrmed that none could so well keepe them awaye as hee, who dyd shoote so assuredly, that he could strike the birds flying in the aire. And though it was a cunning not so much to be maruey led at in a nacion so experte in shooting: yet was it greatly wõdered at of suche as did beholde him, and was great honoure vnto the doer. He gaue rewardes to al suche as were the bringers of Bessus, but hee deferred his punishment, because he mynded to put him to death in the same place where he slew Darius. The Macedons in ỹ meane season going a forraging wounde ordre, were ouerthrowen by the enemies that came rũnyng downe from the nexte mountaynes. Theye tooke moe then theye did kill, and dryuing theire prisoners before them retyred againe to the mountaynes. Ther were of them to the nũber of.xx. thousand whiche accustomed to lyue by theyfte, vsing slinges

and

and bows in their fight, whō whiles Alexander did besige, and in a skirmishe pressed forth wᵗ the formost, he was striken with an arrow in the midst of his leg, where the hed sticked stil. The Macedons that were sorow full & amased for theire kinges hurt, caried him into his cāp, of whose departure out of the fielde his enemies were not ignorannt for they might beholde all thinges from the mountaines. The next day they sent Embassadours vnto Alexander, whom hee admitted to his presēce & vnfolding his woūd, (whereby he thought to dissymule ỹ greatnes thereof) shewed his legge vnto them. When they were commaūded to sit down, they said, that hering of his hurt, they were as sorowfull for it as hys owne subiectes, whiche should well be knowen: for if theye coulde fynde out the persone, ỹ did ỹ deede, he should be deliuered vnto his hands: theye could not (they sayd) iudge them but Sacrileges that would fight wᵗ Goddes, of whose vertue they supposed him to bee, and therefore were determined to yeld them selues. Therupon he gaue vnto them assuraunce, and receiuing againe his men ỹ were taken prisoners, admitted them as his subiectes. That doone hee remoued hys campe and

was caried in a foote litter: for the bearing whereof the horsemen and footemen contended together. The horsemen alledged it to be their office, because the kinge accustomed to fyght amonges them. And the foote men argued for their parte, that in asmuche as they vsed to carie the hurt souldiers, they thought no reason their office should be taken from them, chiefly when ỹ king should be caried. Alexander therefore in so great a contencion of both partes thought it a difficulte matter to geeue sentence, because the iudgement should be greuous to them that shoulde be put from the office, and therefore ordred that they should carie him by course. From thence the fourthe day he came vnto a citie called *Maracanda*, the walles whereof were .lxx. furlonges aboute, but the Castle was without any wall: he set a guarison in the Citie, and then burned and destroyed ỹ countrey there aboutes. Embassadours came vnto him thether from the Scythes called Autans, which had bene free synce ỹ time that Cirus was amonges them: but yet they shewed them selues then readie to be at his cõmaundement. They were knowen to be the most righteous people of all the barbarous nacions, as men that neuer

vsed

vsed to make war but when they were pro-
uoked: whose moderation and temperance
in vsing of their libertie, made ỹ inferyours
equal vnto the superiours. Alexander recey-
ued them gently, and sent Penidas a frende
of hys to those Scithes that inhabited wͦ
in *Europe*, to forbid them to passe the riuer of
Tanais without his appointmēt: Who had
also a secret commission to view the situaci-
on of the countreye, and to visit those Sci-
thians that inhabited about *Bosphorus*. Hee
willed him besides to choose out a place vp-
pon the brinke of *Tanais*, wher as he might
build a citie, to remaine as a fortres for the
subduing of those people that he intended to
visit. But this deuise was delayed by the re
bellion of the Sogdians, who had also dra-
wen the Bactrians to theire parte. There
were of them seuen thousand horsemenne,
whose authoritie the rest followed: for the
aduaūtage of whom Alexāder caused Spi-
tamenes and Catenes (ỹ betraiers of Bes-
sus) to be sent for, thinking by their meanes
to bring the countreye againe to his obedy-
ence, and to subdue suche as had made thys
starre. But they which were iudged meete
to staye the rebellion, e weare sent for that
intent, were the chiefe authours of all the

reuolt. For thei caused it to be noised abrode ỹ Alexãder had sent for the Bactrian horsemen of purpose to kil them al: Which commission (they said) being appointed to them, they wold not execut, because they thought it ouer foule an act to commit against their countreymen. And for that cause could as il beare then Alexanders crueltie, as in times past Bessus treason. By this meanes when feare of deth was put into their heads, they were easely sturred to armes, which before were sufficientlye enclined of theire owne myndes. When Alexander was aduertised of their doings, hee willed Craterus to besiege *Ciropolis*. And hee him selfe wanne an other citie of that countreye by an assaulte that he gaue to it on all partes at once, and by a signe geuen, caused all the children to be put to death, making the rest a pray for ỹ souldiers. This doone the Citie was rased to the ground, to thintent ỹ others by theire ensample might be kept in obedience. There was a valiaunt people called *Memacenans*, who were determined to abide ỹ siege: not onely for their honesties sake, but also for that they thought it most for theire suertye. For the mitigating of whose wilfulnes the kyng sent to them fifty horsemen to declare

hys

his clemency towardes suche as submitted them selues, and howe increpable hee was to suche as hee wanne by force. Their aunswer was, that they neither doubted of the kinges promise, nor of his power: but after their aunswer geuen, they lodged them wout their their walles, where as entertayning them with greate chyre till it was the deape of the night, they set vpon them, and slewe thē all. Alexāder was no lesse moued wyth thys matter, thenne the case requyred, but made an assaule vnto the citie on al partes at once, whiche hee found furnished in suche wise, that he could not take it at ỹ first attempt. Wherefore he appointed Meleager & Perdicas to the siege therof, which then were besieging of *Ciropolis*, minding to spare the same, because it was builded by Cirus. For he had not so great admiracyon of any kyng that had reigned in those partes as of him, and *Semiramis*: whose magnanimitie of minde, and fame of her actes seemed to him to exceede all the rest: But the obstynate wylfulnesse of the inhabitauntes, stirred vp his wrathe. For when hee hadde taken the Citie, hee wylled the Macedons to spoyle it, whiche hadde greate cause to bee mooued againste them, and

so returned againe to *Meleager & Perdicas*. There was not one citie that dyd more valiauntly abide the siege, then the same dyd: for bothe the hardiest of the souldiers were slaine, and the king was brought in greate daunger, being striken in the necke wyth a stone, so that his sight failed him: and was felled to the earthe, so that hee lost his sense The army lamented, thinking he had been dead: but hee was inuincible againste those things, which put other men most in feare. For without taryng he dressed his wound, returning to fighte, & after anger had stirred vp ẏ egernes he had of nature, he renued ẏ assault again more fiercely thē before. Atlength a great peece of ẏ wall was ouerthrowen by a mine, at the whiche he brake in, & put the whole citie to sacke & to ruyn. He sent from thence Menedemus with .iij. M. footemen & .viij. hundred horsemen to the citie of *Maracanda*, which Spitamenes had newly taken, & put out from thence ẏ guarrison of the Macedons: Yet the citizēs were not of this opinion: but when they saw they could not withstand him, it was of necessytie for them to agree to his will. Alexander in the meane season came to the Ryuer of *Tanais*, where hee enclosed aboute wyth a

wall

wall so much ground as his campe did conteyne, ertendyng in compasse. ix. furlonges and named the same citie *Alexandria*. This thinge was done with such expedyciõ, that wythin seuenteene dayes after the walles were vp, the houses also were builded. And the whole was perfourmed in a very small season, thorough the contention amongst ỹ soldiers, who should perfourme his worke first, when the same was deuided into portions amongst thẽ. Their prisoners (whose raunsomes Alexander paid to their takers) were appointed to inhabit this Citye: The discent of whom after so long time are not yet worne out: suche fauour hath been shewed to them, in the memory of Alexander. The kyng of *Scithia*, whose Empire was then beyond the Riuer of *Tanais*, iudgyng that the fortifyng vppon the Riuers side, should be as a yoke to his necke, sent hys brother Carcasis wyth a greate power of horsemen to defeat the fortification, and to remoue away the Macedons from the waters syde. That ryuer deuideth the Bactrians from the Scithians of *Europe*, and is the lymyt whiche parteth *Asia* and *Europe* a sunder. But the coũtres ỹ the Scithes inhabite stretche as farre, as *Thracia*, and lye betwixt

betwixte the northe and the easte, ioyning with *Sarmacia*, and possessing parte of it. The countrey also that lieth beyond the Riuer of *Ister* is inhabited by them, theire vttermost boundes stretching to *Bactria*, and to the further bounds of *Asia* northwards, where as bee wonderful great woods and wilde desertes: But suche of them as bounded neere vnto *Tanais* & *Bactria* lacked not muche the ciuilitie of other nations. This being the first time that Alexander hadde to do with these people, when he saw ỹ thē he had to entre into a warre, for the which hee was not prouided, his enemies riding vppe and downe in his sight, and he diseased of his wound, specially not hauing the vse of hys speache, which fayled muche by reason of his long abstinence, and the paine in his necke: called hys frendes to councell, and delared vnto thē that he was not troubled with any feare of his enemies, but with the iniquity of the time: the Bactriās rebellig, and the Scithians prouoking him, when neyther he was able to stand vpō ỹ groūd, strong inough to ryde on horsebacke, or in case to geeue aduice or exhortation to hys menne. In consideration therefore of the doubtfull daunger he sawe him selfe wrapt

in,

in, he accused the Goddes, complaining ỹ he was then enforced to lye styll as a stocke, whose swiftnes before time, none was able to escape. The matters grew so great, that his owne men beleued hee had counterfeyted his sickenes for feare. And therefore hee which since the ouerthrowe of Darius had left consultacion with the deuiners and prophetes, turned him self agayn to the vanitie and superstition of man, willing Aristãder (to whom he was addicted in beliefe) that he should trye out by Sacrifice what hys successe should be. The custom of thē which were called *Aruspices* was to consider the intrayles of the beastes without the kyng, and to make report to him of theire signifycacion. In the meane season whiles theye were searching secrets that way, he willed Ephestyon, Craterus, Erigius and other hys frends to drawe neere about him, lest by straining of his voyce hee myght breake out his wound agayne, & sayd thus vnto them: The daunger I am in, hathe caused the time to serue better for mine enemies, then for me: necessitie I see chiefly in the warres to go before reason. For it is seldom geuen to men to choose their owne tyme. The Bactrians bee reuolted, vpon whose shoulders yet wee stande, purposyng to trye what courage wee bee of, by our behauour towardes

the

the Scithians If we leaue of with doubtful for-
tune and meddle not with them, whiche of theire
owne myndes haue prouoked vs: wee shall at oure
retourne be had in contempt of them whom we en-
tend to visit. But if we shal passe the Ryuer of *Ta-*
nais, & by the destruction of the *Scithians* & shedding of
their bloud shew our selues inuincible euery wher,
who will then doubt but that *Europe* will lye open,
& geue obedience to vs being victorers: he is decey
ued that doth measure by any distaunce the boun-
des of the glory we entend to passe. There is but
one Ryuer that letteth vs now for bringing of our
power ouer into *Europe*, which if wee shall bringe to
passe, what an estimacion shal it be for vs whyles
we be subduing of *Asia*, to set vp the monumentes
of our victories as it were in a new world, ioining
so soone together with one victorye the thinge that
nature seemeth to haue deuided with so great dys-
taunce: but if we shall stay neuer so litle and geeue
ground, the *Scithians* wil then come after vs, & pur-
sue vs in the taile. We there noe more but wee that
haue passed Riuers: there be many inuentions yet
remayning amongst our selues, whereby we haue
gotten victories. But fortune of the warre dothe
teache policy to suche as bee ouercome: wee haue
shewed a president of late how to swimme ouer ri-
uers vpon bottels: whiche thing if the *Scithians* can
not doe, the *Bactrians* shall teach them. It is but the
power of one nacion that nowe commeth againste
you: all the other yet stand in a stay to vnderstand
of our doings. So that by eschewing battail wee
shall norishe warre, and bee compelled to receyue
those blowes, whiche lye in vs to geeue to other.
The reason of mye aduice is manifest. But whe-
ther the Macedõs will suffre me to vse mine owne
disposition I doubt, because that since I receiued
this wound, I haue not ridden on horsebacke, nor
gone on foote. If you will folow mee mye frendes

I am

I am whole: I gaue them strength inough to endure these thinges. And if the end of my life bee at hand, wherin can I spend it better? These wordes that he spake were vttered with a broken and weake voice, so ỳ they could scarcely be heard of suche as were next him. But when his meaning was perceyued, al that were present went about to fray him from so rash an enterprise. But Erigi⁹ wrought chiefly in the matter, which perceiuing that his authoritie could not preuaile against the kings obstinate mynd, attempted to worke him by relygion, which hee iudged of greater force. For he declared that the Goddes were againste hys determinacion, whyche had signified great perill to ensue, if he passed the Ryuer. He sayde he had vnderstand that thing by Aristander, who tolde him at his comming into the pauilió what hee had perceyued in the beastes intrailes. Alexander vpō his wordes was wonderfully troubled bothe with anger and shame, when he saw ỳ secrets of ỳ religion brought to light, which he thought to haue kept secret to him selfe: and therefore caused Erigius to go aside, and Aristāder to be called in vnto him, whom hee beheld e in the face, and sayde, I seeme to thee rather a priuate man then a king: I commaunded thee to make sacrifice, and thou hast

hast declared the significacion thereof to other and not to mee. For Erigius by the reporte knoweth the priuities perteynyng to mee: But sure I iudge that thorough his owne feare hee deuised an interpretacion of him selfe. Therefore let mee heare of thyne owne mouthe what thou haste found in the intrailes, to thintent thou shalt not deny that thou hast spoken. Aristander therupon was amased, and looked pale, not able to aunswere one woorde for feare. But at lengthe the same feare that made him holde hys peace, pricked him forwardes to speake, least the prolongyng of the kynges expectacō might prouoke him to further wrath, aunswered: I sayde (quod hee) there was in the enterprise great daunger and difficultye: but yet that your attempt shoulde not be in vaine. There is nothynge that I haue perceiued by my science troubleth mee so muche, as the loue I beare to you wardes: for I bothe consider your infirmitie, and what a moment consisteth in your owne person, fearyng you should not be able not to endure the thinges that fortune is disposed to geue vnto you. Whē Alexander heard him speake after that manner, he willed him to haue confidence in his felicitie, to whom fortune had graūted glorye in greater thinges, and thereupon dymissed him: Afterwardes as the kyng was debating with such as he consulted with before, by what meanes he should pas the ryuer: Aristander came amōgst thē, affirming that he had found the intrayles contrary to

that

that he did before, with as likelye signes of good successe as anye that euer he saw, shewing then as great causes to reioice, as he did before to feare. But immediatlye hereupon Alexander receiued newes ỹ much appaired the continual felicitie hee was wont to haue in al his proceadings. Menedemus being sent (as it hathe been saide before) to besiege Spitamenes, the author of ỹ Bactrians rebellion: Wh̄e he vnderstode of his enemies cōming, both in auoiding to be enclosed within walles, and trusting besydes to take some aduauntage of the Macedons, layde an ambushement to entrappe them. There was a wood through the which they should passe very apt for the purpose, wher he layd ỹ Dahans, whose custome was to cary two armed men vpon one horse, from whence they vsed to leape downe by course. And by reason the swiftnes of the footemē was litle inferiour to the horsemen, theye troubled greatly the order of the horsemens fight. Spitamenes gaue order to them, that when their enemies shoulde enter into the wood, they should enuiron thē on all sides, whyche when they performed accordyng to their appoyntment: Menedemus seeyng hym selfe enclosed on all parties, and

not

not equall in number vnto his enemies, re-
sisted a great while, crying out to the soul-
diours, that there remained noe hope to the
being intrapt after that maner, but by ma-
king slaughter vpō their enemies to receiue
the comfort of an honest death. Menedem⁹
rode vppon a strong horse, charging oft ti-
mes vpon his enemies, whereby hee brake
their order, and made great slaughter, till
such time that he being laid at on all parts,
receiued many wounds, & fainted for want
of bloud. Then hee exhorted Hispides that
was one of his frends to leap vpon his horse
& escape away, and with that word he swoū
ded & fell to the ground from his horse. His-
pides might haue gote awaye: but after hee
had lost his frend, determined there to die,
taking no other care but how to spend hys
life with losse of his enemies. Wherfore he
put his spurres to the horse, and ran in a-
mongst them, where he fought notablye, &
at length was slaine. When the rest sawe
this ouerthrow, and losse of their captaine,
they recouered an hill, where Spitamenes
did besiege them, thinking to subdue them
for want of vitaile. There were slayne in
the battaile two thousand footemen, and
three hundred horsemen: Which misaduen-

ture

Egr Dgarest
Engagmt

ture Alexander with great policye kept secret, cõmaunding them that departed from the field, vnder pain of death not to publysh this matter abroade. But whē he could not beare it out any longer a countenaunce contrary to his harte, he went alone vnto hys pauilion which he had set of purpose vppon the Riuers syde. There hee waked all the night, deuisyng with hym selfe what was best to doe. And dyuers tymes he lyfted vp his tent to beholde the fiers in his enemies campe, therby to coniecture theire number. When the day appeared, he put on a corselet, and came forth amongst the souldiers, beeing the first time they had seen him since he receiued his hurt. They bare suche a veneratiõ vnto their king, ỹ with his presence onely they put awaye the remembrance of the feare which caused thē before to shrynk, & reioysed so hartelye, ỹ when theye saluted him, the teares distilled frõ their eies, & earnestly required the fight, which before they had refused. Hee toke order ther amõgst thē ỹ the horsemē, & such as were of the square battaile of footemen shoulde bee caryed ouer in boates, and that the lyghte armed shoulde swymme vppon bottels. Neyther the matter required any more to be spoken,

nor the king could not say muche more bye reason of his infirmitie. For the souldiours went about the matter with such good wil and cherefulnes of mynde, that within. iij. daies they had finished. xij. M. boates. When al things were prepared in redines for their passage, there came. xx. Embassadours of ỹ Scithians, riding by the campe, whiche required that it might be declared vnto ỹ king that they had matter in cõmission to declare vnto him. When they were receiued into his pauilion, and commaũded to sit downe, they fyxed their looke continually vpon the kings coũtenaũce, wherby it was thought, ỹ waying ỹ greatnes of his courage by his personage that they saw present, it appeared to them but small in respect of the same they heard of him. The wittes of the Scythians be not rude and without knowlege as other barbarous people be. For it is said that many of them atteine to such learning as is possible for a nation being alwaies in exercise of the warres. Whose wordes spoken vnto Alexander bee lefte in memorye: which though theye differ from the manner of vs ỹ haue happened in more ciuill times and framed our selues to a more humanity: yet the fidelity of the matter is not to be des-

pised,

pised, thoughe the phrase of their speach be not allowed. And therefore I shall declare vncorruptlye the sayings whiche the eldest of those Embassadours dyd speak after this manner. If the Goddes had geuen thee a bodye accordyng to the vnsaciable desire of thye mynde, the worlde shoulde not bee able to receiue thee, but shouldest touche the Orient with one hande, and the occident with the other: whiche thing once obtained, thy care should bee to become equall to the Goddes. Thus thou doest couet the thynge, thou arte not able to compasse. From *Europe* thou goest into *Asia*, and from *Asia* passest into *Europe*. It must come to passe that if thou ouercome all mankinde, thou must keepe warre with woodes & snowes, with ruers and wild beasts. What? art thou ignoraunt that trees do growe till they be great, & then be plucked vp from the roote in a moment? Hee is a foole that doth couet the fruite, & considereth not the height of the tree whereon it groweth. Take hede least whiles thou dost labour to attein to the top, thou fallest with the bowes which thou doest embrace. The Lyon hath been sometime the foode of small birdes, and the rust doth consume ỹ Iron. There is nothing so sure, that is not in daunger of his inferiour. What haue wee to do with thee? We neuer touched thy countrey. It is not lawfull for vs that liue in the wast wooddes to bee ignoraunt what thou arte, and from whence thou commest? we can neyther be subiect to any man, nor desire to rule ouer any creature. And because ye shal not be ignoraunt of the state of our nacion, we haue certaine giftes in proper vnto vs, the yoake of Oxen, the ploughe, the speare, the bowe, and the bowle: whiche bee the thynges that we vse both with our frendes and againste our enemies. Wee doe geeue

vnto frendes of the fruites gotten with our labor. With the boule we sacrifice wine vnto the Godds. With the bowe we strike oure enemies a farre of, and with the speare neere at hande. After that sorte we in times past ouercame the king of *Scithia*, and afterwardes the kyng of *Perſie* and *Media*, makyng the waye open to vs into Egipt. But thou which dost glory that art come to bee a persecuter of theeues, arte a robber of all nacions, that thou commest amongst. Thou hast taken *Lidia*, possessed *Siria*, enioyed *Perſie*, and haste the Bactrians vnder thye power. Thou doest visit the *Indies*, and nowe stretchest forthe thye rauenous handes vnto oure catteil. Whye doest thou couet that rychesse that causeth thee to bee poore? Thou arte the firste of all menne whiche with aboundaunce haste prepared thy selfe hunger, and that with the more thou hast, the more greedelye thou doest couet the thinges thou hast not. Doest thou not remember how long thou hast sticked about Bactria: And whiles thou goest about to subdue them, how the Sogdians beginne to rebell? Thus warre dothe growe vnto thee of thye victorye. For bee thou neuer so great, & puissaunt aboue any other, yet ther be none that can endure to bee gouerned bye straungers. Passe nowe *Tanais*: thou shalt perceiue what breadth it bearethe, and yet thou shalte neuer ouertake the Scithians, whose pouertie is swifter then thy armye, carying the spoyle of so manye nacions. For when thou shalt thinke vs to bee far of, thou shalt see vs within thy campe: wyth lyke swiftnes, we followe, and flye awaye. I heare that our deserts be scorned by the Greeke prouerbes, we couet rather those desertes and places vnhabyted, then Cityes and plentifull countreis. Therefore hold thou thy fortune fast: for shee is slipper and cannot bee kept against her will. Followe thou the counsaile that is good, specially whiles the tyme doth serue.

Put a

Put a bridle to thye felicitie, and thou shalte gouerne it the better. Wee saye that fortune is wythoute feete, and that shee hathe onelye handes and wynges: but when shee putteth forthe her hande, shee will not suffer her wynges to bee touched. If thou bee a God, then geeue benefytes vnto mortal men, and take not awaye the commodities theye haue alreadye. If thou bee a man consider alwaye thyne owne estate. It is foolyshe to remēber those thynges, whiche cause thee to forgette thye selfe. Suche as by warre thou makest thye enemies: by peace thou mayest make them thye verye frendes. The moste firme frendshyp is amongst them that be equall: and they seeme equall, whiche haue not yet made anye triall of their force. Take hede thou take them not for thy frendes, whom thou dydest subdue and bring to subiection. There is no frendshippe betweene the Lorde and the slaue: and in peace the lawe of armes is obserued. Thynke not that the Scithians doe confirme theire frendshyp wyth anye othe. For they thynke theye sweare in keepyng of theire faythe. The custome of ỹ Greekes is to iustifye theire doinges by callyng theire Goddes to wytnesse: But wee acknowledge Religion to consyst in the faythe it selfe. They which do not theire due reuerence to menne, deceyue the Goddes. Thynke not those frendes to be necessarye vnto thee, of whose good wyll thou shalt needc to doubte. Thou mayst vse vs as keepers bothe of *Europe* and *Asia*, For wee shoulde ioyne with *Bactria* but that *Tanais* dothe deuide vs: and beyonde *Tanais* oure dominion stretcheth so farre as *Thracia*, , and the same, is that *Thracia* cōfineth with *Macedon*. Consider therefore whether it bee necessarye for thee or noe, to haue vs as frendes or foes to bothe thyne Empires. These were the Scithians wordes, to whom the king made answer:

that he woulde bothe vse his owne fortune, and their counsaile whiche aduised him well. He would follow his fortune (he saide) because he had great confidence in it, and other mens counsaile, because hee woulde do nothyng rashely, nor vpon a sodain. Therupon he dimissed the Embassadours, and enbarked his army in the boates he had prepared. In the forepartes of the boates he set suche as had targettes, willing them to kneele vppon theire knees for theire more saueguarde againste the shotte of arrowes. And theye were placed behynde them that had the charge of the Engins, whoe before and on bothe sides weare enclosed with armed men. The rest that stoode beyonde the Engins being armed them selues, defended with targettes suche as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boats that caried ouer the horsemen. The more parte drew their horses after them by the reynes, swimming at the boates taile, and suche as were caried vpon trusses fylled with straw, weare defended by the boates that rowed betwirt them and their enemies. Alexander with such men as he had chosen to be about hys persone, first launched from the lande, and directed his course towardes the further side. The Scithians came agaynst thē with theire horsemen in order of battayle,

stan-

ſtandyng vppon the brinke of the further ſhoare to let their landing: whoſe ſhew being a terrour to the Macedons, they had alſo another cauſe of fere in their paſſing ouer For the boat maſters were not able to kepe their courſe againſt the force of of ỹ ſtreme. And the ſouldiours ſwaying to and fro, for the doubte they had to fall in ỹ water, troubled the mariners in doing of theire office. By reaſon wherof the Macedons could not haue ſcope to caſte theire dartes with anye force, taking more care howe to place themſelues out of perill, then for to anoye theire enemies. Theire engins ſtoode thē in great ſteede, whiche ſeldome did ſhoote in vayne agaynſte theire enemies that ſtoode thycke before them, profering to reſiſt their lāding. When the Scithians ſawe them neere the ſhoare, theye did ſhoote an infinite numbre of arrowes into the boates, ſo that ther was not in maner any targette that had not manye heades ſticking in it. At length the boates arriued at the land: then the target men did riſe vppon theire feete, and hauynge more ſcope and ſure footing, threwe theire dartes more certaynelye and with greater force: whereby perceyuyng theire enemies to ſhrynke, and reyne backe theire horſes,

their horses, they thē leaped cherefully vnto the land, one exhortinge and encouraginge another, and freely pursued them, whome they sawe fall out of arraye. By that time Alexanders horsemen which had assembled them selues in troupes, brake vpon their enemies, and put them to great disorder. In the meane season the reste beinge defended by them that were fyghtinge, landed and prepared them selues to the battaille. For Alexander letted not with stoutnes of courage to supplie the impotency of his bodye. His voice could not be heard when he spake and exhorted his menne (the scarre of hys wounde not yet closed) but all men myght see him fightinge. Wherefore euery one vsed the office of a capitaine in geuinge exhortacion vnto his fellowes, and ran vppon their enemies without respect of their owne lyues. When the Scithians coulde not endure any lenger the countenaūce, the force, nor the crye of their enemies, but beinge all on horsebacke fled away vpon the spurres: Whom the kinge pursued. lxxx. furlonges, notwithstandinge that withe greate paine he endured his infyrmitie. When his hart faynted, he commaunded hys menne that they shoulde followe styll in the chase so

longe

longe as the daye lasted: and not hauinge strength to sustaine anye further trauaile, returned into his campe to reste him selfe. The Macedons in their pursuite passed the boundes of *Bacchus*. In monument of whō there were greate stones sette vp by equall distaunce, and high trees whose stocks wer couered ouer with Iuye. But no boundes could be a staye to the Macedons, beynge caried forwardes in their fury: forsyt was mydnight before they returned againe to their campe: who hauinge killed many, and taken greate numbre of prisoners, did driue before them. M. viij. hundred horses. There were slaine of the Macedons .lx. horsemen: of the footemen to the point of one hundred and a thousand of them were hurte. Thys enterprise withe the fame of the victorye falling in so good a season, kepte the more part of *Asia* in obedience, which was of the point to haue rebelled. For they beleued that the Scythians were inuincible: Who being vanquished, they iudged no nacions hable to withstande the power of the Macedons. The Sacans therefore after thys victorye, sente theire Embassadours vnto Alexander, offrynge them selues to come vnder his obedyence. To the doinge

whereof

His saying of Cæsar.

whereof they were not so greatlye moued with feare of his force, as they were withe reporte of the clemency he vsed towards the Scythians, after he had discomfited them. For he deliuered home all theire prisoners without raunsome, to witnes to the world that he made warre with those fyerce nacions to shew his power and his vertue, and not for any malice, nor to shewe his wrath vppon them. That was the cause that he so gentlye receyued the Embassadours of the Sacans: causing Ercipimus to accompany them: who beinge a beutifull yonge man in ẏ firſt flowre of his youth, was in ẏ respecte in great fauour, and familiarity with Alexander. In personage he was lyke Ephestion: but inferiour to him in pleasauntnes of speach. After this, Alexander geuing order to Craterus to followe him by small iourneis with the greater part of his armye, he him selfe came to the Citie of *Maracanda*, from whence Spitamenes that hard of his comminge, was fledde into *Bactria*. The king therfore making great iourneis foure dayes continuallye, came into the place, wheras vnder the conducte of Menedemus he had lost .ỹ. M. footemen & ỹ. C. horsmē. Whose bones he caused to be gathered to-

githers,

githers, celebratinge their funeralles after his countrey maner. By that time Craterus with the Phalanx was come vnto the kinge: and to thintent he might punishe with the swoꝛde all such as had rebelled: he deuided his powꝛe into diuers partes, commaundinge them to burne in euerye place where they went, and to kil al the childꝛen. The countrey of the Sogdyans foꝛ the moꝛe part is waste, by reason of the greate desertes that stretche ouerthwart the countrey. The Riuer called *Politimetum* passed in maner throughe the length of yt, whyche runneth a space violently in a narrow chanell, and then is receiued into a hole of the earth, from whence it goeth vnderneath the grounde: whose course is manyfest by the noyse of the water that may be harde. And yet on al ỹ ground vnder the which so great a riuer doth runne, there dothe not appeare anye moysture put foꝛthe. Of the captines that were taken amonges the Sogdians, there were .xxx. of the moste noble bꝛought vnto Alexander: which vnderstandinge by an interpꝛetoꝛ, that by the kinges commaũdement they should be put to̅ execucion, began as menne in mirth to singe & daunce, and by a certayne lasciuyous mocyon

of

of their bodies expressed a great ioyfulnesse of the mynde. Alexander marueilynge that they toke their death with such stoutnesse & magnanimitie of hearte, called them vnto him, enquyring why they shewed so great a gladnes, when they had death before theire face. They answered that if they had been put to death by any, sauyng by suche a one as he was, theye shoulde haue taken theire death sorowfully. But now seeinge theye shoulde be restored to their predecessours by a kyng that was a conquerour of all nacyons, theye reioysed in theire honest deathe, as the thing ỹ all men should wish & desyre. The king then, marueiling at theire magnanimitie. I enquire of you (quod he) if you can be content to lyue, and become frendes to him, by whose benefit you shal receiue life? (they sayde) that as they neuer were his enemies, (but as they were prouoked by occasion of the warres) euen so, if he woulde make an experiment of them rather by a benefite, then an iniurye, theye would labour not to bee ouercome in good will, nor in doyng ỹ thyng that pertayned to theire ductie,. Theye were ared what pledge they woulde laye of theire promise, they sayde, their liues they had receyued shoulde bee theire pledge ready to be yelded againe, when it were required. Therin they brake no promise: for such of thē as were returned home into their cōutrey kept ỹ peple

in

in good obedience: and kower of them that were appointed to bee of the kinges guard, gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affection towards their prince. When he had ordered al thinges amongst the Sogdiãs, he left Peucolaus ther wt iij.M. men of warre, & remoued into *Bactria*: frõ whence he commaunded Bessus to bee caryed to Echatan, there to suffer death for the kylling of Darius. About the same time Ptholomeus and Menidas brought three thousande footemen and a thousand horsemen of mercenary souldiers: and one Aleãder came to him out of *Licia* with. iij.M. footemen & v. C. horsemẽ, Asclepeodorus had leuied ỹ like nũbre out of *Siria*. Antipater sent. viij. thousand Greekes amongst whom there were v. C. horsemen. When he had thus encreased his armye with the supplye of his newe power, hee went aboute in euerye place to quiet those stirs that had been raysed vp by the rebellyon. And hauyng slain them that were the authours and begynners thereof, the fowerth daye came to ỹ Ryuer of *Oxus*, whyche beeyng a water vnholesome to be dronke (because it is euer troubled and full of mudde) the Macedons fell to dyggyng of welles: And whẽ by digging deepe they

they could finde no water, a spring sodeinly appeared in the kings tent, whiche because it was not found at the first, they fayned it to come by miracle. Therwith ỹ kyng was pleased, and contented men shoulde beleeue that the same was sent by the gifte of God. When he passed the Riuers of *Ochus* & *Oxus*, theye came vnto a citie called *Marginia*, nere vnto the which he chose out places for the building of fire townes: wherof he planted two towardes the Southe, and fower towards the East: euery one distant a small pace from an other, to the entent that theirs mutuall assistaunce in time of nede shoulde not be far to seeke. They were al situate vpon high hilles, as bridelles to keepe vnder those wilde nacions. But nowe theye haue forgotten their originall, and bee subiecte to those, theye were wont to rule. The kyng hauing subdued all the rest, one rocke onely remained, which Arimazes a Sogdian had taken with .xxx. M. armed men, & furnyshed the same of victuals for twoo yeares. The same rock was .xxx. furlongs in height and Cl. about, being in al partes steepe & brokē, hauing one streight path onelye to passe vp vnto it. In the midde way to the top it had a caue whiche was narow and darke in the entrey:

entrey: but by litle & litle it wared wyder, and had moze large lodginges within foz a great multitude, and was beſides ſo full of ſpzings, that when they met together, theye ranne dolwne the rocke like a great Riuer. Alexander beholdyng the ſtrengthe of thys place, & ỹ difficultie to winne it, determyned to departe from thence. But ther entred ſodeinly into his hart a deſire to wery nature, and wozke againſte her power. Yet befoze that he would attempt the foztune of anye ſiege, he ſent Cophes the ſonne of Artabazus, to perſwade them to geeue it ouer. Arimazes vpon truſt of the ſtrẽgth of the place aunſwered in all thinges arrogantlye, but ſpecially in that he ared if Alexander coulde flye: Whiche wozdes repozted to the kyng, did put him in ſuch a fury, ỹ ſtreight wates he called foz ſuche as he vſed to conſult with all, declaring the pzide and pzeſumption of Arimazes, and after what maner hee hadde ſcozned him. But ſhoztly (he ſaid) he would deuiſe ſuche a pollicy, that he woulde make him thinke the Macedons had winges. He required them therefoze that out of ỹ whole armye theye would chooſe oute and bzyng to hym thzee hundzed of the moſt lyght yõg men whiche had been accuſtomed to dzyue

beaſtes

beastes amongste the rockes and streyghte pathes of the mountaines: whereupon they brought suche to the kyng, as both for lightnes of body, & hardynes of hart were moste meete for suche a purpose: Unto whom hee sayde: mye fellowes that bee of myne owne age, with you haue I won Cities that were counted inexpugnable, and haue passed the toppes of mountaines couered continually with snowe. With you I haue gonne through the streightes of *Silicia*, and haue without werines sustained the violence of the cold: wherby I haue experiẽce of you, & you of me. The rock which you see hath but one entre, which our enemies do obserue, the rest they neciect. They keepe no watche but towardes our campe. If you diligently search, you shall finde some way to bring you to the top. Nature hath made nothing so high, but ỹ it may be attained to, by the industry of man. In putting thinges in proofe, wherof other haue dispaired, we haue gotten *Asia* into our possessyon. Deuise you the meanes to gette vp into the toppe, which when you haue taken, you shall geeue a token to me by setting vp of some white clothe. You shall see me then come forwards with my power, and turne the enemies from you towards me. Hee shall haue ten talents for a rewarde that dothe recouer the top first, & he that getteth vp nexte, shall haue one lesse, and the like order shall bee obserued, wyth temne of the firste. I am assured that you regarde not so muche my liberalitie as my fauour. When they had hearde the king speake after that manner, they imagined the thinge wonne, and departing oute of his presence, prepared strong ropes & yron hokes whiche they

they might fasten to the rockes, and so clime vp. The kinge broughte them aboute the rocke, where as it seemed least steepe and moste plaine to mount vpon, and in the second watch willed them to passe forwards with good speede. They beinge furnished with two dayes victualles, and armed onelye with swordes and speares, at first went forwardes without anye great difficultye. But when they came to the steepnes of the rocke, some tooke holde of the broken crags to lyft vp them selues, and some fastenynge theire hookes on the rockes, clame vp by the roapes. They were compelled to reste & stay diuers times, and so consumed the day in trauaile and in feare. When they hadde passed many difficult places, further difficulties alwaies appeared, the height of the rocke seemynge to growe more and more When they fayled either of there holde, or of their footinge, it was a miserable thynge to see howe the fell downe hedlonge, shewing to ỹ other by their misfortune, an ensample what was a likely to come of them. Notwithstandinge at lengthe throughe all these difficulties they gotte vppe vnto the toppe, where they all wearied wyth the trauaylle of their continuall laboure, and some

with the hurtes and maimes they had receiued, slept there all that night, amonges the wilde and roughe rockes, vnmindefull of the perill they were in. When it was daye they wakened oute of theire deape sleape, and beholdynge the valleys vnderneath them, were ignorannt in what parte of the rocke so greate a multitude of theire enemies shoulde lye. But at length when they perceiued by the smoke in what place they were, they vpon the pointes of two speares set vp the sygne that was appointed them, and founde than in their comming vp they had lost of their numbre two & thyrty. The kinge beinge carefull not so muche for the desyre he hadde to wynne the rocke, as for to saue those whom he had sent to so manifest a daunger, stoode all day beholding the toppe of the mountayne. And when darkenes of the night tooke away the prospect of the eyes, he departed to refreshe his bodye. The nexte daye before it was full lyghte, he perceiued the white cloth sette vp in the top of the rocke: but the variette of the ayer, & the sonne beginninge to appeare, and yet hydden, caused hym to doubte a while whether hys syghte hadde fayled hym or not But when yt was full and open daye, yt

appeared

appeared manifestlye, and all doubte was remoued. Then he called Cophes, by whō he hadde attempted theire mindes before, willinge him ones againe to exhort them to be better aduised. And if so be that in truste of their strength, they woulde not submitte them selues, that then he shoulde shewe to them the menne that had taken the rocke ouer theire heades. When Cophes came thether, he beganne to perswade Armazes to geue vp his strength, thereby to wynne the kinges fauour, and not enforce Alexander to staye in the siege of a rocke, hauinge so many weightye affaires in hand: But he founde him more obstinate and proud then he dyd before, and willed Cophes to depart and moue him no more in ỹ matter. Then he tooke Arimazes by the hand, and requyred him to go wyth hym out of the caue. Whē they were come wheras they might looke about, he shewed him those that were gotten to the toppe of the cragg, & skorning then hys pryde, ared of hym whether Alexaunders souldiours hadde gotten wynges or no. By that tyme the trumpettes were blowen in the Macedons campe, and they myght heare the alarme that was made in ỹ armye; which matter as many vaine & tri-

triflyng thinges are wont in the warres to grow to great effect: so that was the cause why they yelded them selues. For feare so troubled them, that they could not consider the small number ỹ were ouer their heads, but called Cophes againe in greate haste, who was departed away, and sent wᵗ hym vnto Alexander xxx. of the chiefe men, autorised to yelde vp the rock, with composicion for to depart in saufegarde. But Alexãder notwithstandinge that hee doubted lest his enemies discouering the fewnes of hys men, might put them to distresse: yet trustyng in the felicitie of his own fortune, and offẽded with the pryde of Arimazes, would agree to no condicion, but that they should yeld simply. Arimazes therupon dispeiring more of his estate, then he had cause, descẽded downe to the campe with the chiefest of the nation that were of kinne to him. All the which Alexander caused to be scourged with roddes, and be crucifyed at the foote of the rocke. The multitude that yelded, with the money that there was taken, were geuen in gift to thinhabiters of the newe Cities. And the rule of the sayd rocke was cõmitted to Artabazus, with the charge of ỹ countrey thereabout.

The

¶ The eyght booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, kyng of Macedon.

(.*.)

ALexander hauing wonne this rocke with greater fame then glory, because his enemies remayned in no place certayne, it was necessarye for hym to seperate his power, and so deuyded his armye in three partes. He gaue the charge of the one parte to Ephestion, to Cenon the other, and tooke the thyrde parte vnto hym selfe. His enemyes were not all of one opinion: for some of them seeing their defence could not auayle, yelded themselues before the fyght, to whome he gaue the Cities and the landes of those that continued still hys enemyes. But the outlawes of *Bactria* wyth viij. hundred horsemen wasted the vyllages of the *Massagets*. For the redresse wherof Attinas gouernour of that countrey, went agaynste them wyth three hundred horsemen, not knowyng that hys enemies laye in wayt for hym: which laying their embushement in a wood ioyning to a great playne, had appoynted a certaine

to dryue cattell, thereby to drawe their enemies wyth the gredynes of the pray within daunger of the embushement. When Attinas men sawe the dryuers of the cattall, they pursued them without order: so that when they were passed the wood where thembushement laye, their enemies brake out vpon them (casting no suche perils) and slewe them euery one. The fame of thys ouerthrowe came immediatlye vnto Craterus, which drewe thether wyth the horsmen. But the massagetes being fled before his comming, hee slewe a thousande of the Dahans that tooke their parte: whereby the rebellion of the whole countrey ceased. Thus Alexander hauyng subdued ỹ Sogdians, retourned to *Maracanda*, whether Berdes (whome hee had sent to the Scithians inhabiting about Bosphorus) came to him with Embassadours of that countrey. Phrataphernes also that had the chiefe rule of ỹ Massagetes ⁊ Dahans (whiche nations were ioyned by affinitie togethers) set certeyne messengers to Alexander, offeryng to be at his commaundement. The Scithiã Embassadours made request that Alexander would mary their kings doughter: and if the affinitie pleased hym, that

he

he woulde suffer the Princes of the Macedons to enter in mariage likewise wyth ỹ noble mennes doughters of their countrey: promysing that the kyng shoulde come in person to visite him. He harde gently bothe the Embassades, and still continued in that place, tyll Ephestion and Artabazus came vnto him: and then ioyning his power agayne togeether, came into the countrey that is called *Bazaria*. There is nothynge more esteemed in that nacion, then to haue great heardes of wylde beastes enclosed in Parkes, whyche bee very pleasaut and full of springes. Those Parkes bee enclosed with Walles, and towers buylded within them, to be lodges for the hunters. There was one parke in that Countrey that had remayned vnhunted durynge the tyme of fower mennes ages: Whereinto Alexander entred wyth hys whole armye, chasynge the wylde beastes in euerye quarter. Emonges the rest there was a Lyon of a rare bygnesse that came runnynge towardes Alexander. Whyche thynge when Lisimachus (that afterwardes was kyng, standyng by chaunce then nerte to Alexander) perceyued, he stepped before hym, to receyue the Lyon wyth his hunting speare.

But Alexander plucked him backe, & wylled him to auoyde, saiyng that he was able to kyll a Lyon so well as Lisimachꝰ. This Lisimachus on a tyme huntinge in *Siria*, killed by him selfe alone an huge Lyon. But yet hee was torne to the bones vnder his left shoulder, and put in great daunger of his lyfe. Whiche being the matter that Alexander ment, he performed with that worde no lesse then he promised: for hee dyd not onely receiue the Lyon, but kylled him with one stroke. Thereupon the fable dyd rise, how Alexander shoulde haue cast Lisimachus to a Lyon. But though Alexanders chaunce was good herein: yet the Macedons knewe that by the custome of hys countrey he should not haue hunted on fote without ỹ chiefest of his nobilitie & frendes about him. He kylled within that parke. iiij. M. wyld beastes, and there did banquet his army, returning afterwardes to *Maracanda*. Artabazus excusing him selfe there by his age that he was vnapte for the rule of that countrey: Alexander committed the same to Clytus, being the man that defended him wt his target when he was fyghtyng bare headed at the ryuer of *Granicke*, & there cut of with his sworde Rhoisaceris hand, ỹ was

in

in a readineſſe to ſtrike the kyng. He was an olde ſouldiour of Philip his father, and notable by manye feates of warre that hee had done. Hellanice his ſiſter was Alexanders nurice, whome he loued no leſſe then his owne mother. For theſe cauſes he committed the ſtrongeſt part of hys Empyre to his fidelitie. The kyng that purpoſed to ſet forwarde his iourney the nexte daye, made that night a ſolemne banquet: wherein (being ouer greate an aduaunter of him ſelfe) when he was chafed with drinking: began to ſet forth the actes that he hadde done, in ſuch ſort that his wordes offended ẏ eares of ſuch as knew them to be true. The auncient men kept ſilence, tyll ſuch tyme as hee began to deface the doinges of Philip hys father, aduaunting the notable victorye at *Cheroneſe* to be his deede: the glory wherof he ſaid, was taken from him by the malyce and enuy of his father. For he alleged how in the mutinie which roaſe betwene ẏ Macedons and the Greeke ſouldiours, when Philip laye hurte of a wounde whyche hee receyued at a fraye, thought him ſelfe ſure no otherwiſe thã to counterfait to be dead: When he defended his body w̃ his buckler, and ſlewe them wyth his owne hande that

ranne

ranne vppon hys father to haue killed him. Whyche acte (he sayed) hys father woulde neuer gladly confesse: nor neuer coulde abyde to acknowledge hys saufegarde to come by hys sonne. He also declared howe after the iourney he made by himselfe into *Illiria*, in wrytyng vnto his father, he ascribed the victory vnto him selfe, whyche ouerthrewe his enemyes, and put them to flyght when Phylip was awaye. He saied that in his oppinion, it deserued but small commendacion to make a iourney into *Samothracia*, when *Asia* ought to haue beene spoyled and brent. For he thought no mā worthye prayse in deede, but suche as do so great actes, that maye exceede all mennes credite. The young men that were preſēt were glad to heare these wordes and suche other lyke: but they were vngratefull vnto the auncientes: specially for Philip hys cause, vnder whome they had long serued. Then Clytus whych in lyke case was not very sober, turned to suche as sate beneath hym, rehearsing verses of Euripides, wher of the kyng myght rather heare the sound then the wordes. The effect of them was, that the Greekes dyd euill, whiche in the monumentes of their victoryes, dyd subscrybe

ſcrybe onelye the names of theire kynges, whyche vſurped the glorye to them ſelues that other menne dyd winne by ſheadynge of their bloude. Alexander therfore whiche iudged his wordes to haue ben worſe then they were, enquired of ſuche as ſate nerte him, what Clytus ſaide. But when they kept ſilence: Clytus with a lowder voyce rehearſed in order Philips doings, and the warres he made in *Greece*, preferryng them before anye actes done ſince that tyme: Wherupon there did ryſe a contencion betwene the young men and the olde. But ỹ kyng enforcyng a pacience in hymſelf, whē he heard Clytus deface hys praiſe, conceyued a wonderfull wrathe in his mynd. Yet it ſeemed that he woulde haue hydled hys affection, if Clytus woulde haue made an end of hys preſumptuous talke. But when he woulde not ceſſe, he gaue occaſion to Alexander to be further moued. Clytus then dyd procede ſo farrefourth, that he durſt defende Parmenio his caſe, and preferred the victory that Philip wanne of the Athenyens, before the deſtruccion of *Thebes*. And goyng further & further, not only throughe dronkenneſſe, but euen by a frowardneſſe of a contencious mynde, at length ſayed:

If

If wee must dye through thee, Clytus is ȳ firste. For they receiue greatest rewardes of thy victorye, that can moste shamefully deface thy fathers memory. The countrey of the Sogdians is geuen vnto me, that hath so often rebelled: and nowe is not only vnsubdued, but such one as by no meanes can be brought to subiecciō. I am placed emonges those wilde beastes, that be of such an vncyuyl disposicion. But I could passe ouer thinges pertey-nyng to my selfe: if the souldiours of Philip were not despysed: forgetting that if the olde Atharias had not turned againe the young men, when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet sticked about Alicarnazus. Howe is it then that *Asia* is conquered with these young men: But I see it is true that your vncle saide in Italy: he chaunced vpon men, and you vpon women. There was nothing ȳ Clytus spake or dyd in his rashenes, that moued more the kyng, then the honorable mencion made of Parmenio: yet for al that he kept in his griefe, and did no more but commaunded him to auoide out of ȳ place, and spake no other worde, sauyng that hee saied: If thou talkest a litle lenger, I thinke thou wilt braide me with the sauing of hys life: whereof in very deede he would often times proudly aduaunce him selfe. But notwithstanding that the king had willed him to departe, yet he taried still, and would not ryse: And therefore suche as sate nert him, tooke him by the armes to lead him away, blamynge, and geuyng him exhortation,

for

for his better vsage. When Clytus sawe himselfe drawen fourth againste hys wyll: Ire was added to hys dronkennes: and declared then alowde howe that he wyth hys brest defended the kinges backe: but nowe when the good turne was past, the verye memory of his benefite was hated: & therwith layde to his charge the death of Attalus, and finallye mocked the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whome Alexander claimed to be hys father, and saide that hee tolde him better trueth, then hys father dyd. At those wordes the king was sturred to such wrath, as hee coulde scarcely haue borne beyng sober: But hauynge then hys senses ouercome with drynke, leaped sodainly from the table. His frendes were amazed, whyche throwyng downe the cuppes for hast, roase to wayt the ende of the thing, they saw him go about in suche a fury. He tooke a speare out of a squyres hande, and woulde haue striken Clytus, that was yet ragyng with thintemperaunce of his tongue: But hee was stopped by Ptholomeus and Perdicas, who tooke him in their armes, & staied hym for all his stryuing: And Lisimachus and Leonatus tooke away the spear. Then hee called to hys guarde for ayde, crying

out

out that he was taken by his next frendes, as Darius was of late, and willed the trũpet to bee blowen, that the armed menne myght assemble vnto the court. Then Perdicas and Ptholomeus fell downe vppon their knees requiring him that he woulde not persever in his wrathe whiche he so sodeynly had conceyued, but rather respyte his displeasure, seeing that he myght ỹ nert daye muche better order the matter. But his wrath prevayled so muche, ỹ his eares were shutt vp, and he ranne in a furye amonges the watchemen, plucking a speare out of one of their handes, whiche once gotten, hee stoode in the entrye, throughe the whiche they must needes passe that supped with him. When all the rest were come fourth, Clytus came last wythout lyght. And because Alexander could not discerne hym, he asked what he was: but that was done so terribly, that the crueltie of the acte he went about appeared in his voyce. But Clytus, whiche seeyng the king in a furye, had no respect howe much he had offended him before, aunswered that he was Clytus, whiche was cõmming from the kinges banquet. With that woorde he strake hym throughe the body, so that he fel down stark

dead

dead, & was all sprinkled wᵗ his bloude. So now quod he to Philip, Parmenio, & to Attalus. Herein it maye bee seene that nature prouyded euill in the disposicion of manne, which for the moze part cannot consider so well thinges to come, as those that be past. For after that Alexanders ire was all waged, & his dronkennes past, weying aduysedly the foulnes of the act he had done: cõsidered then ỹ though Clytus had vsed ouer much libertie in his talke, that yet he ought not to haue slain so noble a man of warre: yea, & the sauer of his owne life, though hee were ashamed to confesse it. He saw that he being a king, had vsed the detestable office of an executioner in reuenging wᵗ wicked slaughter the libertie of woordes, whyche might haue ben imputed vnto wine. When he beheld ỹ bloud of him whiche a litle before he had biddē to his banquet runne ouer all ỹ entrey, & that the watchemen were so astonyed & amazed, ỹ they stoode afarre of & durst not come neare: his solitarines caused his repentance to be ỹ greater. Thā he plaked ỹ spear out of ỹ dead corps, & would haue thrust it through his own body, if the watchmē had not come rūning, & wᵗ great striuing wrong ỹ same out of his handes.

That

That done they tooke him vp, and caried him into his lodging, whereas he fel down flatte vpon the grounde, filling al the court full of the miserable noyse of his howlinge and lamentacion. He tare his face with his nailes, and required suche as stoode aboute him, that they woulde not suffer him to liue in such a shame and dishonour. In these requestes he consumed the whole night, and caused diligent serche to be made whether it were the ire of the Goddes or no, that had caused him to cõmit so heinous an acte. At lengthe it was founde that the yearelye sacrifice due vnto Bacchus was not don in due time: And therefore it appeared manifestly, ỹ it should be the wrath of the Gods, that had moued him to committe murther vpon eatinge and drinkinge. But the greatest thinge that encreased his sorowe, was the amasement of his frends, when he saw them shrinke from hym and that none of them after that deede done, woulde gladlye vse suche familiar communication as they did before. Thẽ he perceiued that he should lyue as a wilde beaste in a desert, both fearynge others, and also afrayed him selfe. The nert morning he commaunded the bodye bloudye as yt was, to be brought into hys

hys chaumbze, which when he sawe lying before hym, fell in weepynge and sayde: Shall I after this sort requite my Nurice, whose .ij. sonnes slayne for my glorye at *Miletum*, I haue now killed her brother (that was her onely ioye) at myne owne boord? What refuge shal that wretched woman haue? I was all the comforte that dyd remayne to her: and nowe she shall neuer bee glad to beholde mée. Shall I the wycked kyller of my preseruers, retourne into my countrey, whē I shall not bee able to present my hande vnto my Nurice without the remembraunce of her misery? When he could put no ende to these kynde of bewaylinges, and complaintes, the body was taken away by the appointment of his frendes. After he hadde layen three dayes shut vp in his chamber, sorowing after this maner, the Squires and suche as hadde the keeping of his person, seeing him geuen obstinatlye to death, brake into his lodging, & with great payne brought him (though he long withstoode their prayers) at length to take some relefe and sustenaunce. And to ỹ entent he shoulde bee the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Macedons decreed that he was lawfully killed, and would not suffer him to be buryed, but that the king commaunded it. Hauyng consumed ten dayes at *Maracanda*, specially to cōfirme ỹ shame he hadde conceyued of Clytus death, sent

Epheſtion with parte of his army into *Bactria* to prouyde victualles againſte winter: And cõmitted the ſame prouynce vnto Amintas, which before he had geuen to Clytus. From thence he went into a countrey called *Zenippa* that confineth with the Scithians: which being well inhabited and ful of villages, doth with the plẽtifulnes thereof, not only deteine the inhabiters to dwell there ſtill, but alſo inuiteth ſtraungers to come emonges them. The ſame was a refuge to the outlawes of *Bactria* that ſtyll rebelled: but after Alexanders commynge was knowen, they were driuen fourth by ỹ countrey men, and two M. and two hũdred of their horſemen aſſẽbled together, whiche were accuſtomed to liue by theft and ſpoile in time of peace: whome not only ỹ warre but alſo diſpaire of forgeuenes, hadde made more cruell, and theire wilde diſpoſicions worſe. They gaue an onſet ſodeinly vppon Amyntas, that was Darius lieutenaunt. The battaile was long doubtfull betwirte them: but finally they loſt vij. hundred of their nomber, wherof iij.C. were takẽ priſoners, and turned theire backes to the victorours, not without a reuenge: for they ſlewe of them iij.ſcore beſydes iij.hundred

and

and L. that they wounded. And yet notwithstanding after this seconde rebellion, they obtayned pardon. When Alexander hadde brought them to obedience, he came wyth his whole army into a coũtrey called *Nauara*, the Lorde whereof was called Sisimithres, who had gotten two sonnes by hys owne mother, it being lawfull there for the parentes to vse theire childzen. The same Sisimithres with two thousand armed mẽ fortified and kepte the streight at the entry of the countrey where as it was most narrowe. The passage was defended both wt a ryuer and with a rocke, through ẏ which rocke the way was made by force of hand. The lyght is receiued in at the entre: but farther inwarde there is none, but such as men bring wyth them. From thys rocke there goeth a vawt vnderneth the ground, that hath issue into the fyeldes, whiche bee not knowen but to suche as bee of the same countrey. Though thys streyght was naturally strong, and defended besydes by a strong power: that letted not Alexander to attempt it, but brought engynes whiche they call *Arietes*, to beate downe suche fortification as was made wyth hande, and wyth slinges and shot of arrowes, did beat

his enemies from the places of their defēce. When he had driuen them away, he passed through the fortifications hee had wonne, and made approche vnto the rocke. But the streame that greiwe of the assemblye of waters fallyng from the mountayne, was an impediment to him therein. It seemed a wonderfull woorke to fill the chanell of the Ryuer: yet he caused trees and stones to be brought to the place, and set ẏ thyng in hande. When his enemies that neuer had seene anye suche woorke before, sawe the worke ryse sodenly like a mountayne, were put in a maruailous feare, which the king supposinge they myght haue beene brought to render it vp: sent one Oriartes of the same nacyō to perswade Silimithres to render the rocke. And in the meane season to put them in more terrour, he caused towers of wood to bee brought forwardes, and dyd shoote wyth enginnes so out of the same, that the enemies forsakinge all other strengthes, retyred into the toppe of ẏ rock. Oriartes fyndynge Silimithres in thys feare, perswaded him rather to proue Alexanders beneuolence then his force: and seeyng all creatures submitted them selues vnto hym, that he onely shoulde not be hys

let,

let, goyng wyth his victorious armye into *India*, wherby he should turne other mens plagues vppon his owne necke. Sisimithres woulde haue bene contented to follow hys aduyse, but that shee whiche was bothe his mother and his wife, affirmed howe shee woulde rather dye, then committe her selfe into anye mannes hande: And therefore being ashamed that the loue of lybertye shoulde remaine more in a woman then in hym being a man, altered his purpose, takyng that waye whiche was more honest then sure, and dymyssed hym that was the meane for peace, determining vtterly to abide the extremitie of the siege: Yet when hee hadde weyed well his enemyes power and his owne togethers, began agayne to repent hym of his wyues counsayle, as of a deuyse more rashe then profitable, and made suite that Oriartes woulde returne, proferyng then to commyt him selfe to the kynges will: onely requiring of Oriartes that he woulde not vtter his wyues mynde and oppinion, for feare least shee should not obtaine her pardone. He sent therefore Oriartes before, and hee came after wyth hys wife, his children, and all his kinsfolke, wout tarying for anye assuraunce promysed

to hym by Oriartes. Alexander hearing of their comming, sent hys horsemen before to cause them to staye, and tarye for his comming. And when he was come to the place where they did abyde, he offred sacrifice to *Mincrua* and *Victoria*, restoryng to Silsimithres hys former rule and authoritie, puttyng him in hope of a greater countrey, if he woulde faithfullye continue his frendship, & tooke his .vj. sonnes presented to him by the father, to serue hys warres. Alexander lefte his footemen to subdue suche as were yet vnyelden, and went forwardes with his horsemen into other partes. The waye was craggye and difficulte, whyche at the fyrst they endured indifferently: but afterwardes when their horse houes were torne asunder, and they vtterly forwered, many were not able to followe, but rydde dispersed, and out of order: the werines of their trauaile so muche ouercame shame. The kyng notwythstanding, chaunged often horse, and pursued without ceasing his enemyes that fled before him: By reason whereof all the noble yong men that were wont to accompanye him, were lefte behynde, sauyng onelye Philip Lisimachus brother, who then beyng in the flower of

his

his youth, and of greate likelyhode to become an excellēt man, folowed on foote the kynge that dyd ryde on horsebacke by the space of fyftye furlonges: Lisymachus dyuers times for all that profered to him hys horse. But in no wyse he woulde departe from the kynge, notwythstandyng that hee hadde on hys corselet and all his armour. When the kynge passed throughe a woode where hys enemies laye in embushement, he fought notablye and rescued the kynge fyghtyng with his enemies. But after they were put to flyght and driuen out of the woods, the greatnes of his courage, which hadde sustayned hym in the heat of ỹ fight, faynted wyth hys bodye, and beyng all on a sweate, leaned hym selfe to a tree, whiche dyd not so staye hym, but that he fel to the earthe, and being taken vp agayne by the kynges handes, shronke downe from hym and dyed. The kyng being sorowfull for hys death, receyued another tydynges, no lesse to bee lamented. For before he came to his campe, hee was aduertised of the death of Erigius, one of hys moste notable Capitaynes: whose funeralles were bothe celebrated wyth greate pompe and ceremonies of honour.

From thence he determined to go vnto the Dahans, where he vnderstoode that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer ceased to fauour hym, finyshed that iourney of hys, as she did manye other. Spitamenes was enflamed wyth the ouermuche loue of his wife, whom he caried wyth him in all his hasardes and aduentures. But shee that coulde not well endure flying, nor to chaunge places like an outlawe, became so werye of trauayle, that by flatterye and faire meanes, shee entysed her husbande to leaue his fliyng, and go about (seeyng he sawe no waye to escape) to procure Alexanders fauour: of whose clemencye (shee saied) he had seene so great experience. And to moue him the more in the matter, shee brought before him the children begotten betwirt them, making request, that at the least wayes he woulde take pitie on them, wherin she thought her prayer woulde bee the more effectuall, because Alexander was so near at hand. But Spitamenes iudging her not to do this by waye of counsaile, but of purpose to betraye him, and that shee desyred to submitte her self vnto Alexander in confidence of her beutye, drewe out hys sword to haue striken her, if he had not ben

letted

letted by his brethren. When they woulde not suffer hym otherwise to hurte her, hee commaunded her to auoyd his syght, threatenyng to kill her, if she prosered to come againe into his presence: And to mittigate his loue towardes her, he spent the nyght emonges his concubines. But his loue that was so deepely grounded, therby ceased not, but rather kyndeled the more towards hys wyfe. Wherefore he reconciled hym selfe agayne vnto her, makinge his continuall request, that shee woulde not counsaile nor moue him any more in ỹ matter, but be cõtent wᵭ suche chaunces as Fortune would send him: for he esteemed death lyghter thã to yeld him selfe. She purged her selfe of her former persuasyon, whych apeared to her (she sayde) to haue ben good, & thoughe it were after a womans maner, yet it proceded of a faythfull meaning. Yet frõ thence fourth she was contented to do as it should please him. Spitamenes ouercome wyth her counterfait affectiõ, made a great feast, and after muche eating and drinking, became drowsie, and was caryed into hys chamber. When his wyfe perceyued hym to bee in a deepe sleepe, shee pulled out a sworde, whiche shee had kepte secretely for

that

that purpose, and cut of hys heade, delyue-
ryng the same being sprincled with bloode
vnto her seruaunt that was priuye to the
facte, and wyth hym onlye, as she was en-
dued wyth bloude, came vnto the Mace-
dons campe, wylling it to bee signifyed to
Alexander that there was one come, that
hadde to speake with hym. Ye by and by
gaue commaundement shee shoulde enter:
but when he perceyued her defyled wyth
bloude (thinking that shee had come to la-
ment some iniurye done vnto her) wylled
her to declare what she woulde haue. Shee
desyred that her seruaunt myght come in,
from vnderneth whose garment shee tooke
Spitamenes head, and presented it vnto
Alexander. The paleneſſe of the face wan-
tyng bloude, hadde taken away the know-
ledge whose it was. But when the kynge
perceyued it to bee a mannes head, he de-
parted forth of the tente, and by enquirie
vnderstode ỹ matter. The case brought him
in great perplexitie, and was driuen by dy-
uers ymaginacions into sundry oppinions.
Ye iudged the kyllyng of suche one (beyng
a fugitiue and a rebell) to be a great bene-
fite vnto him: whiche lyuyng myght haue
ben a great let and impediment to his pro-

readinges. But on the other syde, consyde-
ring the horribleneſſe of the deede, that ſhe
ſhoulde kill him by treaſon, whiche loued
her ſo entierly, and by whom ſhe had hadde
childzen: the vyolence of the acte ouercame
the thank of her benefite, and ſhee was cō-
maunded to departe the campe, leſt the en-
ſample of ſuche lycenciouſnes, myght coz-
rupt the maners and cyuil diſpoſition of ȳ
Greekes. When the Dahans vnderſtoode
of Spitamenes death, they brought Data-
phernes bound, that was partner with him
in his conſpiracy, & yelded themſelues vnto
Alexander. Hee being deliuered from the
greateſt parte of his preſent care, determi-
ned to reuenge the iniuries of them whiche
had beene miſuſed by the pryde and cou-
touſneſſe of his deputyes & officers. Ther-
fore he cōmitted *Hircania* w̄ the Cardons
& Tapirions to Prataphernes, to whome
he gaue in cōmiſſion to ſend Phradates his
predeceſſour to hym as a priſoner. Tamſo-
nor was ſubſtituted ruler of *Caria* in the
place of Arſamus. Arſaces was ſent into
Media, to thintent that Oridates ſhoulde
remoue from thence. *Babylon* vppon the
death of Bazeus was cōmitted to Dedita-
menes. When he had ordeined theſe things,

the

the thirde moneth he drew his armye out of their winter lodginges, to go vnto a countrey that was called *Gabaza*. The fyrſte daies iourney was quyet, and the nexte not verie tempeſtuous: yet darker then had ben accuſtomed, but not without ſome ſignifycacion of theire calamityes that were comminge. The thirde daye the element was full of lightninge: and when the lightning ceaſed, it was very darke. The beholdynge therof amaſed the ſouldiours, and put them in greate feare. It thundred in maner contynually, and the lightninge fell in ſtraunge ſimilitudes, ſo that the armye ſtoode aſtonied, and durſt neither go forwardes, nor remaine ſtill in a place. Then there came ſodainlye a ſhower of hayle driuynge lyke a ſtreame: which at the fyrſt they defended by couerture of their harneis: But ſhortlye after theire handes were ſo colde and wette, that they could not hold their weapons, nor yet deuiſe which way to turne them ſelues, fyndinge alwaies where they turned their faces, more violence of the tempeſt then before. Euery man therefore brake his araye, wanderinge about the woodes: and manye that were wery ed by feare rather then by trauaile, lay downe vpon ẏ grounde, notwithſtandinge

withstanding that the force of the colde had conuerted the shower into a froste. The trees, againste whych they leaned, were a great refuge and helpe to manye. And yet they were not ignorannt when they rested, that they chose them selues a place of death: for when they left to moue their bodies, the naturall heate left them: But ease was so pleasaunt to such as were weried, that they refused not to dye in resting of them selues. Theire affliction was not onely vehement for the tyme, but also continued very longe: to the encrease whereof, the light, whiche is a naturall delectacion vnto men, thorough the darkenesse of the shower, and the shadowe of the woode, was so taken awaye, that it appeared as it had bene nyght. The kinge onely was hable to endure this mischiefe, which ceased not to go aboute the army, drawing the souldiours together when they were disperkled, lyfting them vp that lay on the ground: and to encourage them, he shewed them the smoke that roase a far of from the cotages, whether he exhorted them to drawe for succour. There was not anye thinge more effectuall to theire saufeguarde, then that whiles they were ashamed to leaue their Prince, whom they sawe

endure

endure this mischiefe, they chafed thēselues with their labour and trauayle. But necessitie (whiche in aduerse fortune is of more force then any reason) founde out a remedy for this colde. They fell to cuttyng downe the woode, making euery where heapes & stackes therof, and set them on fyre. Then a man woulde haue iudged that the whole woode had ben on a flame. For there was scarcely space left betwirt the fyers for mē to stande. Then their nummed members began to be moued with the heat, and their spirites which were oppressed by force of ỹ colde, beganne to haue their free recourse: Some recouered ỹ cotagies, whiche necessitie caused them to seeke out in the furthermost parte of the wood, and the rest recouered ỹ campe, which was planted in a moist grounde. But by that tyme ỹ shower was ceased, the tempest had consumed a thousande souldiours, berlets, and slaues. It is sayd that dyuers were found frosē to death, leanyng agaynste trees, and yet seemed as though they had bene liuyng and speaking together. It chaunced that a common souldiour of the Macedons, whyche had muche payne to go and carye his armour, came at the last into the campe where ỹ kyng was:

Who

who notwithstanding that he was chafing of his owne body agaynste the fyre, yet hee dyd ryse out of his chayre, and pulling of the nummed souldiours armour, that was almost past his remẽbraunce, set him downe therein. Ye a great while knew not where he sate, or who had receyued him. But at length when hys naturall heate came to him, & perceyued it to bee hys kinges seate, & the king to be there present, was afrayd, and starte vp againe. But Alexander behelde him in the face, and sayde. Perceiuest thou not nowe my souldiour, with howe much better condicion thou liuest, then the Persians do vnder their kyng? For it is death for them to sitt in the kynges seate, and the same hath bene the saueguarde of thy life. The next day he called his frendes, and the capitaines of the army togethers, promysing to restore to them what soeuer they had lost: wherein he performed his promise. For Sisimithres bringig vnto him many beastes of burden with ỹ. M. Camels, and great number of sheepe and oxen, he distributed all emonges the souldiours: wherin he bothe restored to thẽ theyre losse, and also delyuered them from theyre honger. The kynge gaue greate thankes vnto Sisimithres, & cõmaunding his souldiours to cary fyre daies victualles ready

ready dzessed, went to the Sacans, where he destroyed all their Countrey, and of the booty there taken gaue xxx. thousand shepe in gift to Sisimithzes. Frō thence he came vnto a countrey belōging to a noble pzince called Cohoztanus, whiche submitted hym selfe vnto the kynge. And he againe restored his coūtrey vnto him, exacting nothing of his, but that of his thzee sonnes he should sende twoe wyth him to serue his warres. But Cohoztanus offred to hym all thzee, and made a feaste vnto Alexander, wyth all suche sumptuousnes as belonged to ỹ maner of the countrey. Therein all the pleasures being shewed that coulde be deuysed, thyztye byzgines of the noble mennes children were bzought in befoze Alexander, emonges whome there was Cohoztanus daughter called Rozane, whyche in beautye and excellencye of personnage, and in comlynesse of apparayll (rare emonges those nacyons) excelled all the resse. And notwythstanding that they were all electe, with whome she was accōpanyed: yet shee dzew all mens eyes towardes her, and specially the kynges, ỹ could not well now gouerne his affections in suche pzosperitie of foztune, being ỹ thing ỹ the frailnes of mā

sel-

seldome can auoide. Thus he which beheld the wife of Darius and her two doughters (to whome Roran was nothinge comparable) with no other entent then he myght haue done his mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a younge virgin, beinge but of a base stocke, if she shoulde be compared to kinges bloud, that he affirmed it to be a thinge necessarie for the establishment of the Empire, for the Persians and Macedons to marye togethers: by whyche onely meanes shame might be taken from the vanquyshed, and pryde from the victorours. He also for his purpose alleged a president how Achilles (of whom he was descended) ioyned hym selfe wyth a captyue. And lest his doinges should be thought inurie, he woulde couple himselfe by the way of maryage. The father ioyfull of theise newes that he looked not for, gladlye confirmed the kinges woordes: Whoe in the heate of hys desyre, caused breade to bee brought fourth according to the custome of his countrey, the same beinge the most religious ceremonye of maryage amonges the Macedons: which bread was cutte a sunder with a swoorde, and eche of them made of yt a sacrifyce. It ys to be thought, that such as

Englands bridale

eſtabliſhed the cuſtomes of that nacion, coueted by a moderate and a ſcarce dyet, to ſhewe to them that were the gatherers of great riches, with howe ſmall a thing they ought to content them ſelues. Thus he that was both king of *Aſia* and *Europe*, ioyned him ſelfe in mariage with a maide brought in at a maſke, to begeat vppon a captiue, ỹ ſhould reigne ouer the victorious Macedõs. Hys frendes were aſhamed that he ſhould chooſe vpon drinke a father in law, of them that he hadde lately ſubdued. But after the death of Clytus, all the libertie and frankenes of ſpeache being taken away, theye ſeemed to agree with their countenaunces, as with the moſt apt inſtrument to declare the conſent of the minde. After this was doone, he prepared his iourney towards *India*, purpoſyng to vyſyte the Occean Sea. And becauſe he would leaue nothing behinde hys backe that might be impediment to his expedicion: he tooke order for thirty thouſand yong men to be leuied out of all the prouynces, ỹ to be brought vnto him armed, myndyng to vſe them bothe as pledges and as ſouldiours. Hee ſente Craterus to purſue Hauſianes, and Catenes: of whom the one was taken, and the other ſlaine. Poliper-

con

con also subdued ꝯ countreye ꝯ was called *Bubacen*. And so hauing set all things in ozde, he set his whole imaginacion vppon the warre of *Inde*, whiche was counted to bee a very riche countrey, and to habound bothe with gold, pearles, ꝛ pzecious stones: things moze appertayning to voluptuousnes, then to magnificence: ꝛ it was said that the souldiours there had their targets made of Iuery, and of gold. And therfoze least he which thought him selfe to excell the rest, shoulde bz passed in any point, caused his souldiours to garnishe their targets with plates of siluer: the hozsemen to make their bzidels of golde, and their cozselets to be bewtified wꝫ golde, and with siluer. There were a hundzed ꝛ.xx.M. armed men that followed Alexander in the war. When all thinges were in readines, foz the purpose hee long befoze cõceiued in his euil disposed mynd, thought it time to compasse how hee mighte vsurpe the name and honoure of a Godde, and so wylled hym selfe not onelye to bee called, but also beleued to bee the sonne of Iupiter, as thoughe his power hadde been aswell to restreyne mennes thoughtes as theire tongues. Hys entente was that the Macedons shoulde fall groouelynge

vpon the grounde and worshippe him after theiyke maner the Persians didde theire kinges. And to suche his desyre, there wanted not pernitious flatterie, the perpetuall poyson of pyinces, whose estate hath hadde moze often ouerthzowes by flatterye, then by anye foyce of enemies. The Macedons were not in blame of this: foz non of them suffered gladly cheir countrey customes to be subuerted. But it was the faulte of the Greekes, which with their naughty condicions, corrupted the pzofession of honest sciences. There was one Hagis of *Argine*, as euell a Poet as was since Cherillus daies, and an other called Cleo a Scisilian, geuen to flatterie both of nature and by the custõe of his countrey. They with other ỳ dzedge and refuse of their countreis (whom Alexander reputed moze than any of his captaines oz his kinsmen) would haue made it appere to the wozld, that heauen had layen opẽ foz Alexander, & sticked not opẽly to pzonoũce that both Hercules, and Bacchus, Castoz and Pollux shoulde all geeue place to hys newe Godhead. Foz the bringing of those thynges to passe, the king commaũded bpõ a solempne day a feast to be pzepared with great põpe, inuiting therũto all the greate

lozdes

lo2des & gentlemen both of the Macedons & the Greekes: w̄ whom when he had sitten & eaten a while, he departed from thēce out of the feast. Thē Cleo, as was before determined, set forthe his talke w̄ great prayse & wonder of the kinges vertues, rehearsyng his exceedyng benefyts towardes them al: whiche to requite, hee sayde there was but one way, and that was if theye woulde acknowledge him a God, whom they knewe to bee one. For it is a small thing (quod he) to recompence suche great benefyts towardes you, with the cost of a litle frākinsence. He shewed the Persians custom to be both Religious and wise in worshipping theire kyngs as Goddes: thinking their defence & sauegarde to consist in the maiestie of theire prynce. He saide, that Hercules & Bacchus were deifyed, when they had once ouercom the enuy of such as liued in their time: And men that come after do easely beleue suche thinges as haue beene confirmed by theire predecessours. If any of you (quod he) will sticke at this matter, ye shall see me ỹ firste that at the kinges commyng in, shall fall downe groueling on the earth and worship him. Which president others ought to follow and specially men of moste wysedome,

that ſhould alwaies be enſample to others in doing their duties towardes their prince. His tale tẽded directly againſt Caliſtenes, whoſe grauity & prompt liberty of ſpeaking was hateful vnto the king: for hee thought him the man which only had ſtaied the Macedons, that els would readyly haue doone to him that honour. Hereupon euerye mans eyes were tourned towardes Caliſtenes, which after ſilence made, ſayd in this wiſe: If the kyng were preſent, (Cleo) to here theſe thy woordes, it ſhoulde not bee needefull then to aunſwer thee: for hee him ſelfe woulde make requeſt that he might not thus ſwerue out of this kind into the cuſtomes of ſtraungers, nor hee woulde not ſuffer that thou ſhouldeſt deface and bringe in the obloquie and enuy of men, with ſuche thy pernicyous flatterye, his noble actes, brought to paſſe by ſuche felicitie and good fortune. But becauſe he is away, I for him will thus aunſwer thee. There is no fruit ſoone rype & will continue long. Thus I meane by the diuine honours, whiche, whyles thou goeſt aboute to geeue vnto the kyng, thou takeſt his honour from hym. There is a time requyred that menne ſhoulde beleeue hym to bee a God: for that gifte hath alwaies beene geeuen to greate men, when theye are once dead, by ſuche as came after them: I wyſhe vnto the kyng immortalitye after his death, and that his life maie bee long and hys eſtate continuall. But ſanctifying is a thynge that ſometime doth follow a manne, but it doth neuer accompany him. Thou didſt reherſe enſamples of the deifyng of Hercules, and Bacchus. Thinkeſt thou that theye weare made Goddes vppon

drinke,

drynke, and by the decree of one dynner? the nature of Alexanders manhode muste bee remooued from oure mortall eyes, before the fame can bryng him into heauen. Are not theye goodlye Goddes (Cleo) that thou and I can make? Woulde the kyng (trowest thou) bee content to receyue of vs the authoritie of hys Godhead? I haue great desire to proue thy power if thou canst make a god, firste make a kyng. It is muche more easy to geue a worldly kyngdome, then the possession of heauen. Thynkest thou (Cleo) that the immortall goddes will heare thee without dysdain, or suffer these thy wicked deuises to take effecte? theye woulde wee shoulde holde vs content with the customes of our fore fathers: and for mye parte I am not ashamed of mye countrey: nor I requyre not to learne after what maner I shoulde honour my prynce. For in mye opynion, wee acknowledge him sufficientlye to bee kyng and victorour, of whom wee receiue lawes to liue vnder. Callistenes was fauourably harde of all men, as the persone whom they counted the recouerer of theire vniuersal liberty. He did not only in his tale paint out suche flatterers, but also liuely expressed the opynion of the Macedons, specially of suche as were auncient men, to whom the exchaunge of theire olde vsages were greeuous. The kyng was nothyng ignorant of the woordes that hadde passed betwyxte them: for hee stoode behynde a partition of ỹ Hall & hard al ỹ matter. He set woꝛd therfore to Hagis, & Cleo, ỹ at his comming in,

they ſhould moue the ſtraungers onelye to fall downe and worſhyppe hym after their countrey cuſtome. And after a whyle, the kyng, as thoughe hee had been aboute ſome matters of importaunce, returned agayne into the feaſt: & then the Perſians fell downe & worſhipped him after ſuche ſorte as was deuiſed, but Polipercon that ſat aboue the king at the boarde, aſked one in ſcorne that touched the ground wyth his chinne, whye he kiſſed no harder: with which wordes hee moued Alexander to yre, whereof hee was euer vnpacyent: So that he ſayde vnto Polipercon: Is it thou that diſdayneſt to honoure me? ſhall I bee mocked of thee alone? Hee aunſwered ỹ it was not ſeemely a king ſhoulde bee ſkorned, nor yet a ſubiect bee deſpiſed: Wyth which words the king plucked hym from ỹ table, & threw him downe: to whom he ſayd, fallyng grouelyng vpon the earth: Lo haſt thou not doone thyeſelfe, that before thou didſt ſkorne in another man? and thereupon he commaunded hym to warde, and ſo brake vp the feaſt. Polipercon beeing thus punyſhed, was afterwardes pardoned, but Caliſtenes whoſe contempte and ſtubburnnes the kyng had long grudged at, groũded his diſpleaſure then more deapely: vpõ whom

there

there chaunced shortly after an apte occasi-
on to bee reuenged. It was a custome (as it
hath been sayde before) amongst the noble
men of Macedon to put their sonnes, when
they were paste theire childhoode in seruice
to the kyng, as pages to doe necessarye bu-
sines about his persone. Theire vsage was
to watche nightlye by course at the chamber
dooze where the kyng laye. The concubyn-
nes were brought in by them, by an other
way then where the guard watched. They
lykewyse receiued the horses of the gromes
of the stable, and brought them to ỹ kyng
when he? leaped on. Theye alwaies weare
about the king bothe in hunting and in bat-
taile, and were brought vp in the studye of
liberall sciences. The chiefest honour was
geuen vnto them, because they might sytte
and eate wyth the kyng: none hadde power
to correct them with strypes, but onely the
kyng hym selfe. Thys companye was lyke
a masse or store, from whence all the Cap-
taynes and gouernours of the Macedons did
come. From thence came theire latter kyn-
ges, whose lynage the power of the Ro-
maynes long after did extincte. Hermolaus
one of that number, because he had stryken
a boze (whom the king had thought to haue

striken

ſtriken hym ſelfe) was by his commaundement beaten, and ſcourged wyth rodders, whiche rebuke hee tooke greuouſlye, and complayned to Nicoſtratus hys frende that was one of the ſame companye: Whyche ſeeyng the body tozne, wherunto hee hadde ſo great affection, and paraduenture offended alſo with the king before, for ſome other cauſe, ſtirred ſo Hermolaus (whiche was puoked ſufficiently already) that eche gaue ſaythe to other to fynde a waye to deſtroye the kyng: Whyche they executed, not with any chyldyſh proceeding, but wiſely agreed to bring Nicoſtratus, Antipater, Aſclepiodorus, and Philotas into the felowſhyp of their conſpiracye. And afterwardes theye ioyned vnto them moze, Anticles, Elaptonius, and Philmanes. But the meane howe to perfourme this purpoſe ſeemed very dyfficult, becauſe it behoued al them to watche togethers. And it was the vſage ỹ accozdig to theire courſes, ſome watched one nyght, and ſome another: For if any ſhould happē amongſt them, that were not priuye to the matter, the ſame myght be a let to ỹ whole enterprize. Therefoze aboute chaungyng ỹ courſe of theire watche, and in other preparacion foz therecucion of their purpoſe, ther

paſſed

passed two and thirty daies. At lengthe the night came when the whole number of the conspiratours should watch togethers, who reioysed greatly amongst them selues, that eche had kept faithe to other: wherof so many daies silence had geuen good proofe: during which time neyther feare, nor hoape, had altered any of their myndes: so greate was the displeasure they had conceiued against the king, or els the fidelitie they bare eche to other. Theye were standing at the doare, where the kyng dyd eate, to thintent that at hys rysyng from the banquet, theye might bring him to his chambre. But Alexanders fortune, and the pleasantnes of such as weare in his companye, mooued him to drinke largely, wherby and by reason of other pastimes and deuises, the tyme was so prolonged, that the conspiratours stoode in a marueylous perpleritie. For one while they were glad, because they trusted to find hym dronke, when they shoulde go aboute theire enterprise, and an other while theye weare in great agonye, least hee should sit till daye lyghte, for thenne the custom was to releeue the watche, and other to succede in their places, and since their course should not be come againe till the seuenth nyghte

after

after they coulde not bee assured that euery one of them woulde keepe the thynge secret all that time. But when the daye beganne to appeare, and Alexander was ryſen from the banquet: theye weare ſo glad to execute theire malice that theye became ioyful to receiue the king. There was a woman accuſtomed to haunt the court, whiche being extraught of her mind, and ſeemyng by ſome inſpiration to ſhewe thinges to come) mette Alexander, & would in noe wiſe ſuffer hym paſſe, but perſwaded hym by all means ſhe coulde deuiſe, to retourne and ſit downe againe. He ſaide to her in ſporte that ỹ Gods gaue him good aduiſe: and therupon called backe againe his familiers, and ſat drynking till it was two houres after day light. By whiche time an other company had releeued the watch, and were ſtanding before the kynges chamber dooze: yet for all that the conſpiratours remayned ſtyll after the tyme of theire watche erpyred: So vehemẽt is the hope whiche mens myndes conceyue, when they be drowned in the deſire of gret thinges. The kyng ſpake moze gentlye to them then hee was accuſtomed, and wylled them to go to their reſt, for ſomuch as theye had watched al the night before: and gaue

vnto

vnto euerye one of them in reward. 50. ſeſterces, wᵒ cõmendacion of their diligence, yᵗ they continued their watch lenger thẽ their time. Being thus deceyued of ẏ great hope they were in, they departed to their lodgynges, in expectacion of the night when theire courſe ſhould come again. But Ephimanes whiche eyther by the gentleneſſe the kynge ſhewed him amongſt the reſt, or els that hee thought that the prouydence of God had wᵒſtand their purpoſe, ſodeinly chaunged hys minde, and opened the matter they had gon about to his brother Curilochus, that was not priuie to the matter before. The puniſhment of Philotas was ſo freſhe in euerye mans memorye, yᵗ Curilochus laid ſtreight wyes handes vppon his brother, & brought him into the court. He called to the watche, and ſhewed them that hee broughte newes pertaining to the kings ſauegarde: whyche thyng well appeared, aſwell by theire commig at ſuch a time, as alſo by their ſadnes, whiche was a teſtimonye of theire troubled mindes. The watche men called vp Ptholomeus, & Leonatus, that laye within the kings chãbre, which ſtraight waye brought thẽ into ẏ king, & wakened him, that by reaſon of hys muche drynking laye in a deade

ſleepe.

sleape. It was long or he awoke, but by lit-
tle and litte he came to him selfe, and asked
what the matter was. Then sayd Curilo-
chus, thanked be the Goddes that haue not
vtterly determined the ruyn of oure famy-
ly. For though my brother purposed an hey-
nous act, yet is he come to repentaunce, by
him the matter is brought to lyghte. Thys
same verye night treason was conspired a-
gainst you, the authours thereof be suche as
you would scarcely thynke. And thereupon
Ephimanes declared all things in ordre, w̄
the names of the conspirators. It is certain
that Callistenes was not named as one pri
uy to that treason: but it was confessed ỹ hes
gladlye gaue eare to others' talke, when
they blamed and spake euel of the kings pro
cedings. Some do adde therunto, that when
Hermola⁹ did complain to Callistenes how
the king had beaten him, hee bad him remē-
bre how hee was a man. But whether hee
spake it to take the thinge in pacience, or els
to stur him to further malice, it remaineth
in doubt. When the king was fullye awa-
ked, and called to his memory the peryll he
was in, gaue Curilochus fifty talentes, w̄
the forfait of a riche mannes gooddes called
Miridates,

Tiridates, and forgaue his brother, before his pardon was required. He commaunded ỳ principals of this treason to be kept bound, & amongst thẽ Calisthenes: who being taken & brought into the court, the king slept all ỳ day, & the night ensuing: he was so heauye wt drinking & watching. The nert daye hee called a great councel, wherath fathers and kinsfolkes of the conspirators were prest, nor very well assured of theire owne sauegard, because ỳ by the law of ỳ Macedons all ought to dye, that were any thing a kyn to traytours. Al the conspiratours excepte Calisthenes, by the kings cõmmaundement were brought forth, immediatly confessyng the whole treason theye had deuised. Then euery man present reuiled them, & the kyng required what he had done to th[illegible], why they should conspire his death. When ỳ other stoode still and held their peace: Hermolaus aunswered thus: ye demaund this thing of vs, as though ye knew not the matter. We wẽt about to kill you, because yee beganne to reigne ouer vs, as if wee were slaues and not free borne. As hee was speaking those words, his father Perse polis called hi traitor & murtherer of hys parentes, stoppyng hys mouthe with hys hand, because he should speake no further.

macedons punish traitours seuerely

Then

Then the kyng plucked hys father backe, and willed Hermolaus to speake such thinges as he hadde learned of hys master Calystenes. Thenne Hermolaus proceeded: I will vse your benefyte, and declare those thynges whiche I haue learned to the great mischiefe of vs all. Howe small is the number of the Macedons remayning, that haue escaped your cruelty? Attalus, Philotas, Parmenio, Lyncestes, Alexander and Clitus are nowe dead: but to oure enemies behoue theye bee alyue. Theye stoode in the fighte, and defended thee with sweordes, receiuing wounds for your glorye and victorye, which nowe bee verye well rewarded: The one bee sprynkled your table with his bloud, and the other could not bee suffered to die a simple deathe. Thus the Captaynes of your people bee tormented and putte to deathe: a pleasaunt spectacle to the Persians, of whom they were victorours. Parmenio, by whom ye slewe your enemye Attalus, was put to death without iugement. Thus ye vse the handes of vs wretch[illegible] instrumentes one to kill another: and such as [illegible]en nowe were your tormētours, streight wayes you commaunde to be tormented of others. At those wordes ỹ multitude began to shout againste Hermolaus: and his father drewe hys sworde to haue slaine him, if he had not been letted by the kyng, whiche commaunded Hermolaus to speake, requyryng ỹ rest to heare him pacientlye, whyche (he said) enforced the cause of hys owne punishmente. At length with greate labour theye helde their peace, & thē Hermolaus began again:

Howe

How liberal is he to suffer rude children to speke: when the voyce of Calistenes is shut vppe in prison, because hee alone is able to tell his tale: and whye: because hee feareth the free speache of an innocent, and because hee cannot endure to beholde hys face: and yet I will iustifye hee is not pryuye to this matter. But other there bee here that purposed wyth mee a noble enterpryse, of whom there is not anye that can accuse Calistenes of consent, & yet oure so pacient and righteous a kyng, hath determined here his death These bee the rewardes of the Macedons, whose bloud is misused as vile, and of noe valoure. Hee hathe thyrtye thousande Mules carying spoyle and treasure: and yet the poore souldyers cary nothyng wyth them but vnrewarded woundes and skarres: All which thinges wee dyd easelye sufker, before hee dyd betraye vs to the barberous, and after a newe trade of byctoryours made vs slaues. He alloweth the apparayle and disciplyne of the Persians, and despiseth the maners of hys owne countreye: And therfore we determined to kyl hym, not kyng of Macedon, but kyng of *Persie*: and as a fugityue, persecuted hym by the law of armes. Hee would haue the Macedods kneele to hym and woorshyp hym as a Godde. Hee refused Philipp for hys father: and if any God had been before Jupiter he would haue refused hym likewise. Doe you marueyle yt free men cannot beare thys hys pryde: What can wee hoape for at hys handes: seeyng wee must eyther dye as innocentes, or els (that is worsse then death) liue and remayne in bondage as slaues. Hee is greatly in my debte, if by this he coulde amende: for hee maye learn of mee the thynge that free hartes cannot endure. Spare them whose age shall bee sufficientlye tormented wyth the losse of theire chyldren: but vppon vs cause execution to be don, to the intent wee may obtayne by our own death,

the libertie we sought for by his. When Hermolaus had spoken these wordes, the king thē aunswered after this maner: How false these things be which hee hath learned of his instructor, my pacīēce doth declare. For notwithstādig he before confessed this treason, yet my mind was ye should heare what he could say: knowing very well that when I gaue libertie to this thiefe to speake, that he would vse the same rage and furye in his talke, which before moued him to haue killed me, whom hee ought to haue loued as his father. Of late whē that in hunting hee vsed a greate presumption, I commaunded him to be chastised after the custome of our countreye vsed bythe kinges of Macedon: whiche chastisement wee muste graunt needefull to bee doone, lyke as the pupils bee accustomed of their tutors, the wyues of their husbandes, & seruauntes of their masters. Thys was all the cruelties I vsed towardes him, whiche hee would haue reuenged with murther and treason. But how gentle I am to al persons, that suffer me to vse myne owne disposicion, since you your selfe doe knowe, it were superfluous for mee to rehearse. I cannot maruaile at all, thoughe punishment of traytours bee displeasaunt to Hermolaus, since hee hym selfe is in the same case: for when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for his owne purpose. I pardoned Lyncestes Alexander, whych was accused by two witnesses, that hee twise conspired treason agaynste me: and agayne conuycted, yet deferred I his punishment two yeares, tyll you your selues required hee myghte haue hys deseruing. Touchyng Attalus, ye remember verye well how he wrought treason againste mee before I was kyng. And for Clytus, I would God hee had not moued me to yre, whose rashe tongue speaking ye rebuke & shame both of me & you, I suffered

red longer then he would haue done me, speaking ꝧ like. The clemency of the kinges & princes consysteth not only in their owne dispositions, but in such as be vnder their subiection. For the rigour of such as be rulers, is mitigated wᵗʰ humilitie. But when mens mindes be voyde of reuerence, and highe and lowe be confounded all a like, then force is necessary to repulse violence. But why do I maruele, ꝧ he layde cruelitie to my charge, that durst obiect towards me couetousnes? I wil not cal you to witnes one by one, least I should vpbrayd you wᵗʰ liberalitie, by making declaracio what I haue bestowed vpon you. Behold ꝧ whole multitude, which a litle while a go had nothing els but their bare armour: do they not lie in siluer beddes? be not theire tables charged with plate, & possesse they not whole flokes of slaues? They are not able to sustaine ꝧ spoiles of their enemies. But it is sayd, the Persians bee honoured of me, whom we haue conquered. Truelye they be so: & yet what greater proofe can there be of my moderacion, then ꝧ I do not reigne proudly ouer suche as I haue subdued. I came into *Asia* not vtterly to subuert ꝧ nacios, nor to make ꝧ one halfe of the world desert, but to geue ꝧ conquered cause not to repent thē of our victory. This is the occasion they gladly fight for you, & for your kingdom spend their bloud: which if they were proudly vsed, would streight rebell againste you. The possession is not durable which is possessed by violence, but ꝧ thankes of gentlenes receyued, endureth euerlastingly. If we purpose to enioy *Asia*, & not to make a progresse through it, wee must make them partakers of oure clemencye: and then theire fidelitie shall make oure Empire stable and perpetual. And truelye wee haue nowe more thenne we can well wyshe or desire. Couetousnesse is an vnsacyable thing, specially when men desire to fill ꝧ vessel that runneth ouer. But ye wil say that I mixe & bryng

theire cuſtomes amongſt ours. It is ſo, and why? becauſe I ſee in diuers nacions right many things whiche we neede not bee a ſhamed to followe. And ſo great an Empire as wee haue gotten cannot otherwiſe bee aptlye gouerned, except wee delyuer ſome things to them, & receiue likewiſe ſome thinges againe. One thing is to bee laught at, that I ſhould refuſe Iupiter for my father, beeing ſo acknowleged by his oracle: as who ſayeth, the aunſwer of the gods were in my power. Hee profered the name of his ſonne vnto mee, whiche was not a thyng vnmeete for the thinges wee purpoſed. I woulde wiſhe that the *Indians* beleeued mee to bee a God: for the ſucceſſe in warre ſtandeth muche bye fame, and that whiche is falſly beleeued, ſometime worketh the effect of thinges true. Doe you note me geuen to exceſſe & prodigalitie, becauſe I garniſhed your armour with gold and ſiluer? My purpoſe was to ſhewe to men accuſtomed with ſuche things, nothing to bee more vile then ſuch kinde of metall, and to declare that the Macedons inuincible in other thinges, could not bee ouercome wyth golde it ſelf. After this maner I ſhal blind the eyes of the barbarous, which are wont at the firſt ſight to wonder at things, be they neuer ſo baſe and vile. And in that we ſhew to make noe eſtimacion of it, we ſhall declare to al men that we are not come for deſire of golde nor ſiluer, but to ſubdue the whole world: Frō which glory ỹ traytoure, thou wouldeſt haue bereaued mee, and betrayed the Macedons (I being ſlaine) to the barbarous nacyons. I am exhorted to ſpare your parents. Is it nedefull I ſhoulde make him priuie what I haue determined of them? no I will not: & to that intent he might dye with the greater dolour, if he hath any care or memory of them. It is long ago ſince I did forbode the cuſtome of puttinge thinnocent parentes & kinſfolke of traitours to deathe with the offendors

offendours. And I now professe to pardon & haue them al in ỹ same estimaciō I had before. I know whye thou wouldest haue thye master Calistines brought forth, which onely estemed thee beeing of his sort: because thou desirest to heare pronounced of his mouth, those raylyng wordes, whiche euen now thou didst spit out against me. If he had been a Macedon borne, I had brought him into ỹ place with thee: a worthy master for suche a disciple, but being borne in another countrey, he is subiect to another lawe. When hee hadde spoken these wordes, he dimissed the councell, and commaunded all suche as were condempned, to be deliuered to the souldiours of their own bāds: Who because they would declare by some crueltie, the loue they bare towardes their prince, slew them al by torments. Calistenes also dyed vpon the racke, innocent of the conspiracy against the kings person: but a man not plyable to the custome of the court, & abhorring from ỹ dispositiō of flatterers. There was neuer thing ỹ brought the Greekes in greater indignacion against Alexander, then that hee not onelye killed, but caused to be tormented to death, & that without iudgement, a man endued wᵗ godly maners and good sciences, by whom hee was perswaded to liue, when he purposed to haue died for sorow that he had slain Clitus: whiche hys crueltye, repentaunce followed that came to late. But least he might

nourishe ydlenes, apte for sowinge of seditious rumours, he marched towarde *India*, alwaies more glorious in warre then after his victorye. The whole countrey of *India*, lyeth chieflye towardes the East, conteyning more in length, thē it doth in breadth. The North partes be full of Mountaynes and hylles: but all the reste of the lande is plaine, hauinge manye faire riuers, whych runninge out of the mount *Caucasus*, doe passe pleasauntlye throughe the countrey. *Indus* is more colde then any other riuers, whose water is not vnlyke the colour of the Sea. But of all the riuers in the Orient, *Ganges* is most excellent: whiche runnynge from the South, passeth directlye throughe many great mountaines, vntill that by the encountringe of Rockes, his course is turned towarde the Easte, where it ys receiued into the redde Sea: the violence of the streame breaketh downe his bankes, swallowing in trees, and muche of the grounde. In many places the streame is kept in with Rockes, whereupon it beateth: But where the grouude is more softe, there the Ryuer becommeth more large, and maketh many Ilandes. The greatnes of *Ganges* is muche encreased by *Acesines*, whyche meete before

they

they enter into the sea: At their meetynge the water is violently troubled, whyles the one resysteth the others entrye: neither of them seeme to geue place to other. *Diardnes* is a Ryuer of the lesse fame, because it runneth in the vttermoste boundes of *India*: but yet yt bryngeth fooꝛth Crocodiles, as the *Nile* dooth, and also Delphines, wyth Monstres vnknowen to other nacyons. Crooked *Erimanthus* wyth hys manye turnynges and reflexions is consumed by the inhabytours with waterynge their ground, whyche ys the cause that when yt drawyeth neare the Sea, yt becommeth verye lyttle, & beareth no name. There be manye other Ryuers that do deuyde the countrey: but none of them be so famous as these, because they do not runne so farre. The Northwynde dothe blaste and harme moste those partes that be nexte vnto the Sea: But those wyndes be so broken with the toppes of the Monntaynes, that they cannot endomage the inwarde partes of the countrey: wherefoꝛe fruytes be verye plentifull there and perfite. But that regton doth differ so much from thoꝛdinary course of time in other parts of ẏ woꝛlde, ẏ whē other coūtreis be burned moste with ẏ sunne, *India* is

couered ouer with snowe. And when other places be frosen, the heat is ther most intolerable: and yet there appeareth not anye naturall cause why it should be so. The colour of the *Indian* sea not differring muche from the water of other seas, dyd take hys name of king Erithrus, whereof the ignoraunt tooke oppinion the water of those seas was redde. The land is very haboundaunt of flaxe, wherof ẏ moze part of their garmentes be made. The twygges of the trees be so tender, that they receyue the print of letters lyke ware. The byrdes by teaching, counterfait mens voyces. There be manye beastes whiche are not bredde amonges other nations. *Rhinocerotes* bee there brought fourth, but not bredde. The Elephantes of that countrey bee stronger then those that be made tame in *Aphrike*, & their bignes do aunswer vnto their strẽgth. The water of the Riuers do carye downe golde, and runne mildly without any great fall. The Sea doth caste vppon the shoare both pearles and precious stones: whereof proceded ẏ cause of their great riches, after their marchandise was once knowen to other nations, the purginges of the seas beinge then esteemed, as mans fansy woulde

make

make the price. The disposicions of the mē (as in all other places) be accordinge to the situacīō of the coūtreis they dwel in. They make theire garmentes of linnen clothe, whiche couer theire bodies downe to theire feete. They bynde soles vnder theire feete, and wrappe roules of linnen aboute theire heades. Such as be in anye degree either of nobilitie, or riches, haue precious stones hāging at their eares, & couer all theire armes with bracelettes and ornamentes of golde. They vse great curiositie in kemminge of theire heades, whiche they round verye seldome. They shaue without any fourme of grauitie, all partes of theire face, sauynge their chinne, But the excesse in voluptuousnes (whiche they call magnificence) vsed by them, doth exceede the vyces of all nacions. When theire will is to be seene abroade, theire seruauntes carye about them perfumynge pannes of syluer, and fyll all the wayes where they go with swete sauours: they them selues be borne in litters of golde hanging full of pearles, and the garments theye weare bee of golde and purple enpaled together. The armed menne followe their litter, & suche as be of their guarde, amonge whom there be bydes borne vppon

boughes

boughes, which they had taught always to sing, when they be occupied in earnest matters. In ỹ kinges palace there bee pillers of golde carued about w̃ vines of golde, wherin the images of those birdes they delighte most in, be artificially wrought. The court is open to al cõmers. When ỹ kings do kẽb & dresse their heads, then they vse to geue aũswer to the Embassadours, & to doe iustice vnto their people. When their soles be takẽ of, their feete be anoynted w̃ swete odours. The greatest trauail they take, is whẽ they hunt wild beasts enclosed in Parks, which they strike whiles their Concubins be singing & dalying w̃ them. The arrowes that they shoote be of two cubits long, which do not the effect of the force they be shot withall, by reason of theire weight whiche is an impediment to theire swiftnes, wherin the propertie of the arrow chiefly consisteth. In smal tourneis they vse to ride on horseback: but when they haue to trauail farther, they be caried vpon Elephants, whose huge bodies be couered al ouer with golde. And because no vice shoulde want amongst theire corrupt maners, great rowtes of cõcubines doe followe them in golden littors. The Quecnes haue their bandes seperate by thẽ

selues

selues: which in all excesse of voluptuousnes be nothing inferiour vnto the kinges. It belongeth to the women there to dresse meat, & they also serue men of wine, whereof there is great plenty amōgst the Indians. Whē the kyng hath largely dronke, and is fallen in a sleape: his Concubines vse to cary him into his chamber, calling vpon their Gods, with a song after theire countreye manner. Who would thinke that amongst all these vices, there were any regard had of vertue? There is among them a rude and an vnciuil kinde of people, whom theye call wyse men, whiche count it ỳ most glorious thing to preuent their owne death: and theye vse to burne them selues whiles they bee aliue. It is imputed for a great shame to suche as either can not wel stirre for age, or haue not their perfect health, if they prolonge theire life till their naturall death approche: For there is no honour geeuen to those bodies ỳ dye for age. Theye thynke the fyers bee defyled, if the bodies be not aliue ỳ bee burned in thē. Such as liue in cities after a ciuile manner, attaine to the most apt knowledge of the starres mooning, & of the Prophecying of thynges to come. For theye can not thynk that any man doth shortē his life,

that

that loketh for death without feare. Theye esteeme those for goddes, whom they begin once to worship, & specially trees, the violating of the whiche, they forbyd vnder peyne of death. They count after fiftie daies to ỹ Moneth: and notwithstanding limit theire yeares, as they doe in other places. Theye note not theire times by suche course of the Moone, as is commonly vsed: that is from ỹ full Moone, but from the first quarter, when she beginneth first horned: & by counting after ỹ same maner, make thẽ ỹ shorter. There be many other things reported of thẽ, with the whiche I thoughte not necessarye to interrupt ỹ order of this historie. As Alexãder entred into *India*, the Princes of ỹ countrey came vnto him, submitting them selues & declaring that he was the third man that euer came amongst them, being begotten of Iupiter. They said that Hercules & Bacchꝰ was not knowẽ to them, but only by fame, but they reioyced that theye mighte beholde him presently with theire etes. Alexander receiued them with all gentlenes hee coulde deuise: & willed them to accompany him, because hee woulde vse them as guides in hys iourney. But when he sawe that the whole number came not, hee sent Ephestion, and

Perdicas

Perdicas with part of his armye before, to subdue such as would not submit thē selues, and willed them to go forwardes till theye came to the riuer of *Indus*, & there to make boates, wherby he might transport his armye: And because they had to passe manye riuers, the boates were so deuised, that they might be taken a sonder to be caried in cartes, & afterwardes ioyned againe together. He appointed Craterus to folow him with the Phalanx: & he with suche horsemen and footemen as weare light armed, went before, and beeing encountred on his waye, fought a small battail, and did driue his enemies into the nert Citie. When Craterus was come (to thintent hee might strike terrour amongst those people that had not yet proued the Macedons force) he cōmaunded that when they wan the Citie, they shoulde kill bothe man, woman, and childe, & burne the same to the hard grounde: But whiles he ridde about the walles, hee was stryken with an arrow. Notwithstanding the cytie was wonne, & al put to the sword, the very houses not escaping ỹ victorors cruelty. After this he subdued an obscure natiō, & came to a citie called *Nisa*. It chaunced ỹ whyles they encamped in a wood before ỹ city, ther

fel a

fell a cold in the night, that more afflicted ȳ Macedons, then euer it had doone before in any other place: Against the whiche, theye prepared the remedy that was next at hand & cut downe the wood to make them great fyers: The flame wherof caught the sepulchres belonging to the city, which by reason they were made of Cedre, were soone set on fyer, & neuer left burning till they were all consumed. That fyer made both a larme in the citie, and to the campe: for therby the cytizens iudged that theire enemies wouldе make some attempt against them, and the Macedons perceyued by the barking of the dogges, and noise of men, that the Indians would salie out vpon them. Wherefore Alexander issuing out of his camp in order of battaile slewe suche of them as attempted the fight. Thereupon they within the cytye became of diuers opinions, some were minded to yelde, and other thought good to adventure the extremitie. When Alexander vnderstoode of their diuision, he caused hys men to abstaine from slaughter and onelye to maintaine the siege. At length they were so wearied with the discõmodities of ȳ war, ȳ they yelded them selues. Theye affyrmed their originall to come of Bacchus, who in

dede

deede builded their citie at ỹ foote of a moũ-taine called *Meroe*: The qualitie of whyche mountaine being repoꝛted to Alexander by thinhabiters, he sent victuals befoꝛe, & pas-sed thether with his whole armye, encam-ping vpon the toppe therof. The moũtaine grew full of Vines & Iuy, abounding with spꝛings that flowed out in euery place. The same was also plentifull of many kindes of apples of most pleasant taste: the ground al so bꝛought foꝛth coꝛne without any cultiua-cion. There grewe also plentie of Laurell trees, with many kindes of wilde fruite. I can not impute it to any mociõ of religion, but rather to plentye and wantonnes, that caused thẽ to repaire thither, where, of the Iuye and the vyne leaues they made them selues garlands, & ran vp & downe after a dissolute maner, all the hollowes & valleys thereabout rebounding with the voice of so many thousands, calling vpon Bacchus, to whom that place was dedicate: Whiche ly-cence & liberty begon of a fewe, was spꝛedde so sodeinly thꝛoughout ỹ whole army, that the souldiers scattered abꝛoade wout oꝛder, laybere & there reposing thẽ selues vppon ỹ grasse, and leaues, ỹ they had gathered toge ther, as it hadde beene in a time of quyet

and

and moſt aſſured peace. Whiche licenciouſ-
nes of the ſouldiers riſing by chaunce, Alex
ander did not withſtand, but ten daies toge
ther made feaſts to Bacchus, during which
time he plentifully banqueted his whole ar
my. Who can therfore denie, but that gret-
nes of fame and glory, is oftentymes a be-
nefyte rather of fortune then of vertue: for
their enemies had no harte to ſet vppon thē,
whiles they were drowned in this exceſſe of
banqueting, dronkenſhyp, and drowſineſſe,
but were aſmuche afraide of their dronken
noiſe, as if they had hard theire crie encoun-
tring with them in battaile: Which felicy-
tie preſeruing them heare, did afterwardes
defende them after the ſame manner in the
midſt of their enemies, returnig as it were
in triumphe from the Occean Sea, when
they were geuen al to feaſting and to dron-
kennes. When Alexander deſcended from
the mountain, he went to a countrey called
Dædala, which the inhabiters forſooke and
fled to the woods, and the wilde mountay-
nes: & therfore he paſſed frō thence into *A-
cadera*, which he found both burned & aban-
doned likewiſe of thinhabiters: whereby of
neceſſity he was compelled to vſe the warre
after an other maner. For hee deuided his
armye

armye into diuers partes, and shewed hys powre in many places at ones. By whyche meanes he oppressed them before they could prouide, & subdued them to their vtter ruin. Ptholomeus toke moste cities: But Alexander wan the greatest, and afterwardes ioyned againe his armye together, whiche he had thus deuided. That doone, he went forwardes and passed a Riuer called *Choaspe*, where he left Cenon to besiege a riche citie called *Bezira*: and he him selfe went to *Mazage*, where Allacanus beinge dead had left the dominion both of the Countrie, and the citie to his mother Cleophes. There were xxx. thousand footemen to defend that citye, which both was well fortified and stronge of situacion, beinge enclosed vpon the East with a swifte riuer, hauinge steape bankes defendinge the citie, ỹ it could not be approched on that syde. Vpon the South and the West parts, nature (as it were for ỹ nõce) had planted high rockes lyinge betwixt thẽ, & deepe hollowes & pittes made of olde antiquitie: wheras the rockes ceased, there begamne a dike of a wounderfull deapth and wydenesse. The wall wherewyth the Citye was enclosed, was. xxxv. furlonges in compasse, whereof the nether partes

were buylded of stone, and the vpper partes of claie: Yet stones were mixed wyth the claie, to thintent that the fraile substaunce clinging to the harder, the one should bynd the other. And least the earth washed vp̄ with the raine might fall altogether, there were stanchinges of timber put betwixt to staye the whole woorke: Whiche covered ouer with boordes, was a waye for men to go vpon. Alexander beholding this kinde of fortification, was vncertein what to do. For he sawe he coulde not approche to the walles, but by filling of those dykes, & hollowe places: And that he coulde not otherwise fill them, then by making of a mount, which was the onely waye he had to bring his engins to the walles. But whyles he was bielwyng the towne after that maner, he was striken from the wall wyth an arrow in the thighe. Whiche he pulled out, and without wrapping of his wounde, called for his horse, and letted not for his hurte to geue order for such things as he thought expedient. But at length when by hanging of his legge, the blond drue from ȳ wounde and wared colde, whereby his hurte began to payne him, he then saide that he was called the sonne of Jupiter: but yet he felte in

him

him selfe the passions of a diseased bodye. Notwithstanding he woulde not returne into the campe, before he hadde viewed all thinges that were necessary, & apointed all thinges he woulde have doone. After that the souldiours had receiued their appointement, by plucking downe of houses without the towne, they gott greate plentie of stuffe to make the mount withall. And by casting stockes of trees on heapes into the dykes and hollow places, the mount within nine daies was raised vp to the toppe of the walles, and the towers were planted vpon the same: such was the labour and diligence the souldiours vsed in the matter. The king before his wound was closed vp, went to see howe the woorkes went forwarde: and when he perceiued them in such case, commended the souldiours for their diligence, and caused thinges to be brought to the walles, out of the whiche they that defended the Walles were sore afflycted wyth shotte. And by reason they hadd not seene anye suche kynde of woorke before, were wonderfully amazed: specially when they beheld ỳ Towers of suche bygnesse come forwardes, & yet coulde not perceiue by what meanes they were moued, iudged

those thinges to be done by the power of ỳ Goddes. And beſydes they could not think it a matter of mannes inuencion, that ſo greate dartes and ſpeares, as came emonges them, ſhou'd be ſhot by engins: diſpeiring therefore of the defence of their Citie, they retyred into ỳ caſtle. And becauſe they coulde not be ſatiſfied any maner of waye till they hadd yelded them ſelues, they ſent Embaſſadours to the king to aſke pardon: Whiche thinge obteined at his hande, the Queene with a great traine of noble women came fourth, bearing in their handes cuppes of golde full of wine: who preſenting her litle ſonne, before the kings feete, not only obtained pardon, but alſo reſtorement of her former dignitie. Wherefore ſome thought that her bewtie procured her more fauour, then his mercy: But this is certaine that the childe, which afterwardes ſhee brought fourth (whoſoeuer did beget it) was called Alexander. From this place Polipercon was ſent with a power vnto a citie called *Nera*, where he ouerthrewe in battaile thinhabiters that encountred with him, whereby he gott the citie into his poſſeſſion. There were many other Cities obſcure of fame, that came into Alexanders

handes

hands by thabandoning of the inhabiters, which assembled them selues together in armour & kept a rocke called *Dorinis*. The same was that Hercules had besieged the same before tyme in vayne, and by reason of an earthquake enforced to departe. Whē Alexander viewed this rocke, & sawe howe steepe it was and vnpassable, became void of counsaile, till suche time as an olde man that knew wel the place, came to him with his twoe sonnes, offring for a reward to guyde his men by a waye vp to the toppe. Alexander promised them iiij.score talets, and keeping one of his sonnes as pledge, sent him to performe that he had promised. Mullinus the kinges secretary was apointed with certein souldiours lyght armed, to folow the guyde, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians by fetching a compasse about the rocke. But the same rocke was not, as the more parte bee, whiche liyng a a sloape, hath waies vp vnto the toppe by degrees. For it stoode bolte vpright after the fashion of a butt, broade beneth, & euer as it grewe vpwarde, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe: And it was enclosed on the one side with ỹ ryuer of *Indus*, hauyng high & steepe bankes, and vpon the

other syde with deepe dikes & hollowe places, full of water and mudde. Wherefore there could be deuised no way to win yt, except those dikes were first filled. There was a woode at hand, which the king commaũded to be cut doune, and causing the bowes to be shyed of for the cariage, fylled the hollowes with the bare stocks. Alexander bare the first tree, and all the souldiers followed after wyth a couragious shoute: for there was no man that woulde refuse to do that they saw the king beginne. So that wythin vij. dayes the dikes and hollow places were filled vp. Then the king appoincted the Agrians, and the archers to go to the assault, and did chose. xxx. yonge men of suche as he iudged most apte for the purpose out of hys owne band, appoincting Charus, and one Alexander to be theire conducters, and exhorted Alexander ỳ the remembrance of his name might make him hardye. At the firste because ỳ hasard was so manifest, ỳ kinge was not determined to aduenture his own person. But when ỳ trumpet blew to thassault, he was of suche a ready courage, that he could not abstaine, but making a signe to hys guarde that they shoulde followe hym, was the firste that set foote vpon the rocke.

Then

Then there were few contented to tary behinde, but many lefte theire array where as they stoode in order of battaile, & followed the king. The chaunce of manye was miserable, whom the running riuer swallowed in, when they fell downe from the rocke: Which sight was sorowfull to such as wer out of daunger, beinge admonished by the perill of other, what they ought to feare themselues: here vpon their compassion beinge turned into feare, lamented aswell thē selues, as those whom they sawe dye before theire faces. At lengthe they went so farre fourth, that without gettinge of the rocke they could not retyre backe againe without their great destruction. For their enemies rowled downe greate stones vppon them, wherwith they were easely beaten downe, by reason the rocke had so slypper and vnstable standinge. Yet for all that, Charus & Alexander, whiche were appointed to the leading of the thirtie chosen souldiours, had gotten to the topp, and began to fyght hand to hande. But there were so manye dartes cast at them from a farre, that they receiued moe woundes, then they could geue, wherfore Alexander both mindfull of his name, and of his promise, whiles he fought more

egerly then warelye, was enclosed about & slayne. When home when Charus sawe dead, he ranne vppon his enemies, and vnmindfull of all thinges, sauyng of reuenge, slewe many with his pyke, and dyuers wyth hys swoꝛde. But being layed at by so manye at once, he fel doiwn dead vpon the body of his frende. The death of these twoe so hardye young men, and of the rest, moued Alexander greatly: yet perceiuing no remedye in ỹ matter, caused the retreit to be sounded. It was greatly foꝛ their saueguard, that they retyred by lytle and lytle without appearance of any feare. And the Indians contented to haue repulsed their enemies, pursued not after them. Alexander hereuppon was determined to leaue of his purpose, seing he sawe no hoape howe to winne the rock: yet he made a countenance as though he ment to continue ỹ siege styll. Foꝛ bothe he caused the wayes to bee closed vp, and made an appꝛoche with towers of wood alwayes putting freshe men in place of them that were wericd. When the Indians perceiued Alexanders obstinacye, two dayes & two nyghtes they banqueted continually, & played vpon tymbꝛels after their maner, to cause their enemies thinke that they had no

doubt

doubt in the siege, but trusted surely to preuaile. The thirde night the noyse of ỹ tymbrels ceased, & many torches were sene burning, which the Indians had lighted to see which way they might escape down ỹ rock in the darke nyght. Alexander sent Balacrus to discouer the matter, who found that the Indians were fledd, and that the rocke was abandoned. Then a signe was geuen that the whole army should geue a shewte together, whereby they did strike such feare emonges their enemies flying without order, that many of them thinking their enemies at their backes, leaped down ỹ rockes and slew themselues, wherof some maimed in their fallyng were left behynde by their felowes that fledd awaye. Thus the kyng being victorious of the place, rather then of the men, testifyed notwithstandinge, with solemne sacrifices vnto the goddes a greatnes of victory, and set vp Alters vppon the rocke to *Minerua* and *Victoria*. And though the guydes that he appointed to his lyght armed menne, performed not so muche as they promised, yet their reward was truely geuen them. And the rule of the rocke with the countrey thereaboutes was committed to Sisocostus, he himselfe goynge for-

forwardes with his armey from thence to *Echolima*. But vnderstanding that certeine streightes through the whiche he shoulde passe, were kept by one Erix with twentye thousande armed men: He committed that parte of his armye that were heauy armed to Cenon, to be brought on by soft iurneis, and going before in person wyth the slyngers and Archers, put his enemies to flight making the waye cleare for his armye to passe that followed after. The Indias, whether it were for the hatred they bare vnto their capitaine, or els for to geat the fauour of ỹ victorour, killed Erix as he fled awaye and brought his head, and his armour vnto Alexander. He considering the foulnes of ỹ acte, woulde not honour the doers for thensaumple sake, nor punish them because they serued his purpose. From thence by xvi. remouinges he came to that parte of the riuer of *Indus*, where Ephestion had prepared all thinges in suche sorte as he had comission. One Omphis was kyng of that countrey, whiche before had perswaded his father to submitt him selfe vnto Alexander. Who immediatlye vppon his fathers deathe sent Embassadours vnto him to knowhis pleasure, whether he shoulde take vpon him as

a kyng

a kyng before his comming, or els liue priuatly in the meane season: And although it was permitted him to gouern as a king, yet he woulde not vse the authoritie that was graunted him. He had caused Ephestion to be receiued in the best sorte he could deuyse, but notwithstanding had not visited him, because he would not commit hys person to any mans fidelitie but to ỹ kings. When he vnderstoode of Alexanders comming, he went towardes him w̄ his whole power: Whose Elephantes by small distāces mixed in battaile emonges his footmē, shewed afarre of like castles. At the fyrste Alexander did not take him as a frend, but as an enemy, & therfore set his men in order of battaile, & his horsemē in winges in readines for to fyght. When Omphis vnderstoode the errour of the Macedons, he commaunded his men to staye, & putting hys spurres to his horse, rid forwardes alone. Alexāder did ỹ like, putting no doubt whether hee were a frende or an enemye, but thought hiself sure, either through his own māhood, or ỹ others fidelitie. Their meetīg as it appeared by their countenances was very frendly: but for want of an interpretour, they coulde not speake togeathers.

Ther-

Therefore after they hadde called one vnto them, the Indian kyng declared vnto Alexander that the cause hee mett him wyth an armye was to putt immediatlye his whole power into his hands, and had not (he said) taried to treat for any assurance by messengers, but vpon trust onelye had committed both his person and his kingdome to hym, whome hee knewe to make warre for the winning of glory and fame, and therefore coulde not feare in him any perfidie. Alexander reioyced to see his simplicitie, & proffered him his ryght hande as pledge of hys promyse, and restored to him agayne hys kyngdome. He presented vnto Alexander lvi. Elephantes with manye other beastes of exceding greatnesse, & three thousande bulles, which is a cattell of greate value in those countreies, & much esteemed of kings. Alexander enquyred of him whether he had vnder his domintō more souldiours, or tylers of the grounde. He aunswered that he was driuen of necessitie to haue more souldiours, because he was at warre with two kynges, whose kyngdomes lay beyond the ryuer of *Hidaspis*. Their names were Abisares, & Porus: but the auctoritie remained in Porus: And saied that he was prepared

pared, & resolued to aduenture the hazard of the battaile with suche of them, as shoulde inuade him first. Hereupon Alexãder grãted vnto Omphis, both to take vpon hym the Dyademe, & the name of his father that was called Taxiles: the custome of ỹ coũtrey being such, that the name euer folowed the kingdom who soeuer enioyed it. When he had receiued Alexander honourablye in hospitalitie three daies, the fourth daye declaring howe muche corne he had deliuered to Ephestion & to his armye, presented to ỹ kyng & to all his frendes crownes of golde, & besydes of coygned siluer. lxxx. talentes. Alexander reioyced somuch in his good wil, that he bothe retourned againe to him hys giftes, & gaue him besydes a M. talentes of the spoyle he brought with him, with much plate of golde & siluer, many garmentes after the Persian maner, and xxx. of his owne horses, with the same furnimẽts they ware when he did ryde vpon them: Which liberalitie as it bound Omphis, so it greatlye offended the myndes of the Macedons. For Meleager at supper, when he hadde well dronk: saide he was very glad that Alexander had yet found one in *India*, whome he iudged worthye to receyue the gift of a M.

talentes

talentes. The king bearing in mynde, how muche he had repented the slayng of Clytus for the rashenesse of his tongue, refrayned his anger, but yet tolde him that envyous men were euer tormentours to them selues. The next day the Embassadours of kyng Abiasares came vnto Alexãder, who according to theire commission offered all thinges vnto his will: Wherupon promise & assurance being confirmed, they retourned againe to their master. Alexander therfore thinking that through the greatnes of his name, Porus might be brought to doe the like, sent Cleochares to him to demaũd tribute, & to sommone him to come & make his homage, when he should enter ỹ boũds of his kingdom. Porus made aunswer that of those two requestes he would perfourme one, whiche was to meete him at the entrie of his kingdome, but ỹ shoulde be in armes and wyth a power. Alexander therefore beynge determined to passe the Ryuer of *Hidaspis*, Barzentes that had bene autour of the rebellion emonges the Arachosians, was taken and brought to hym bounde wyth rrr. Elephantes: an apte assistaunce agaynste the Indians, that were wont to put more trust in those beastes, then in the

force of their owne nacion. Gamarus king of a small porcion of *India*, whyche hadde confederated wᵗ Barzentes, was brought lykewyse bounde vnto hym. Wherefore committyng them bothe to prison, and the Elephantes to Omphis, came vnto ẏ riuer of *Hidaspis*. But Porus laye in campe on the farther syde to let his passage, hauyng xiij.score. v. Elephauntes of huge strength of body. CCC. wagons of warre, & xxx. M. footemen, emonges whom there were manye archers, whose shaftes (as hath bene saied before) were more heauye then they could well welde. Porus him selfe did ride vpon an Elephant greater then all ẏ reste, who also being of a byg stature, appeared notable in his armour that was garnished with gold & siluer, hauing also a courage equall to the strength of his body, & so great a wisdome, as was possible to bee founde emonges such rude nations. The Macedōs were not so muche afrayde with the syght of their enemies, as they were wᵗ the greatnesse of the ryuer that they hadde to passe, whiche being foure furlonges in breadth, & so deepe that no foode could be found, appeared to thē like a great Sea. And yet the largenesse therof mitigated nothing ẏ vyo-

lence

lence of the ſtreame, but ran wyth no leſſe furye, then if it had beene narrowe, appearinge by the repercuſſion of the water in many places, to be full of great ſtones in ỹ bottome. This Riuer beinge ſufficient to feare them of it ſelfe: the ſyght of the farther banke full of horſe and menne, was an encreaſe of their terrour: Where ỹ Elephãtes that had bodies of an vnreaſonable greatenes ſtoode in their ſyght, being prouoked to braie of purpoſe, to thintent that with their terrible noyſe, they ſhould fil their enemies eares full of feare. Thoughe the Macedons were couragious and had their harts full of good hope, as they which often times had had experience of their owne actes: Yet theire enemies, and the riuer both together made them wonderfully amaſed. For they coulde not thinke howe to keepe a ſtedfaſte courſe to the farther ſhoare in ſo weake and tottering boates, nor when they were ther, could ſee how to arriue with ſuertie. There were manye Ilandes in the middes of the riuer, into the whiche both the Indians and the Macedons did ſwymme, holdinge their weapons aboue theire heades: there they ſkirmiſhed together in the ſyghte of bothe kynges, whyche by experyment of ſuche

ſmall

small thinges, made tryall of the successe of the whole. But emonges all the Macedõs there were twoe noble young men called Simmachus & Nicanor excelling in boldnesse and in desperate attemptes, whyche through their continuall good fortune, had gotten a courage to despise all perill. Other young men of the most hardiest, tooke them for theire Captaynes, and wythout any other armour (sauyng their pykes) swomme ouer into an Iland being full of their enemyes, where through boldnesse onely, they slewe many of them, & so might haue returned wyth glorye, if rashenesse (where it findeth prosperous successe) could euer be content with measure. But whiles wyth skorne and pryde they taried for their enemies, they were sodeynlye enclosed of suche as priuely swomme ouer the ryuer, and were killed wyth dartes, whyche they cast at them from a farre. Suche as in this case escaped theire enemies, were eyther drowned wyth the vyolence of the water, or the eddies of the streams. Thys fyght put Porus in greate courage, that sawe all their doynges from the farther shoar: And though Alexãder was long vncerten what waye to take, yet at length he deceiued hys

enemy by this policy. There was an Iland in the ryuer greater then the reſt, and apte to hyde his deuiſe, by reaſon it was full of woode, and hadde a great rampire caſt vpon that banke, that was towardes his enemies: There both his footemen, and horſemenne might ſtand couered from the ſyght of Thindians: and the rather to turne their eies another waye from the ſpynge out of that opportunitye, he cauſed Ptholomeus wyth a great numbre of his horſemenne to ſhew them ſelues againſte theire enemies farre of from the Iland, and to put the Indians in feare of their crye, makinge euer a ſhewe as though they would ſwimme ouer the Riuer: Which thinge Ptholomeus dyd many daies continuallye together, to thintent that Porus ſhoulde be enforced to remoue his power to that parte to withſtand him, and by that meanes brought them out of the ſyght of the Iland. Alexander alſo cauſed his owne pauiliõ to be ſet vpõ the riuers ſyde ouer againſt his enemies, and all ỹ pompe that pertained to ỹ ſtate of a king to be ſet fourth within their viewe, with the ſame bande ſtanding in ſyght, whiche was wont to remaine about his perſonne. Furthermore Attalus, that was equall with Alexander

lexander in yeares, and lyke to hym of face & personage, stode there openly appareiled lyke a kinge, ỹ it might appere to Porus, ỹ Alexander was still remaininge there, and went not about to passe the riuer. The execucion of this deuise was firste letted by a Tempest, whereby afterwardes it was furthered, and brought to good effect: fortune euer vsing to turne her discomodities, into good successe towardes him. For whē thenemyes were thus attente to obserue Ptholomeus that lay beneath vpon ỹ riuer against them: And Alexander with the rest of ỹ army, busye about the passinge of hys menne into the Iland before mencioned: There fell sodeinly a great storme, scarcely tollerable to suche as lay within their cabbaines, which so much afflicted ỹ souldiors abroade, that they forsoke their boates, and fledde againe to lande. And yet for all this, theire clamoure and theire noyse was not heard of their enemies throughe the vehemency of the shoure. As this tempest began sodeinly, so it sodeinly ceased: but ỹ Cloudes remained so darke, ỹ there appeared not so much lyght, as the souldiours might know one another by the face, when they spake together: which darknes might haue feared

some other mã considering they had to rowe in a riuer ẏ they knew not, their enemies (paraduẽture) waiting for them at their lãding, whether they went, as blinde men ẏ for glory fought for perill. But Alexander vsed ẏ thing that put other men in terrour, to serue for his purpose, & willed that every man (vpon a signe geuen) should enter into their boates with silence: his boate was the first that launched from the shore, towards the further syde that was voyde of his enemies, Porus onely keepinge his watche against Ptholomeus. There was but one boate that stacke faste by the waye vpon a rocke, and all thother recouered the lande. Alexander then commaunded the souldiers to prepare their armour, & fall into arraye: And whileſt he was deuidinge his men, to put them in order of battaile, marchinge towarde his enemies: it was reported to Porus, ẏ a great nũbre of men of War were come ouer ẏ riuer, & landed, whiche woulde streight waies geue him ẏ battaile. But he at ẏ first (according to ẏ fault ẏ is mans nature through the ouermuch confidence ẏ he had in him selfe) beleued not the matter, but thought that Abiasares whiche was confederate with him, had com in his assistaũce.

Yet

Yet when the day appeared, and the matter was manifest, Porus then put fourth. C. armed wagons, and .iiij. M. horsemen, vnder ỹ leading of Hages his brother, to kepe Alexander doinge. They counted those wagons their principall force: for euery one of them caried sixe men. vj. Archers, two with targettes, and vj. ỹ ruled the horses, which were not vnarmed: but when it came to ỹ fyght, they let theire reines loose, and bestowed theire dartes amonge theire enemies. But those of those wagons serued that day to small purpose: for the showre that hadde fallen more violently then was accustomed, had made ỹ fieldes so wet, and slabbie, that the wagons could not stirre, but stacke in ỹ myre, and became immouable: Whereas Alexander beinge without baggage, or anye thinge that mighte be impediment vnto hym, fyercely inuaded hys enemies. The Scithians, and the Dahans were the fyrste that gaue thonsette: and Perdicas was appoynted with the horsemen to charge vpon the right hande battaile of the Indians. Then the battailes beginning to ioygne in all partes, they that had the charge of ỹ wagons, countyng them ỹ last refuge, slacked their raines, and rushed forwardes into the

middeſt of the fyght. The cõming of theſe wagons appeared to bee a matter daungerous, and doubtfull to bothe parties. For at the fyrſt bruntе, bothe ỹ Macedons were borne ouer, and ouerthrowen by them: and when the wagons came in anye roughe, or mirie places, the Indians were throwen out of them. For when the horſes ỹ drewe them were once galled, and putt in feare: they caried the wagons without gouernement, and tumbled parte in the mire, and parte in the ryuer: Afewe trauerſed the fieldes, and fledd for ſuccour vnto Porus: Who ſeing his wagons ſcattered ouer all the fields, and wander about without their rulers, diſtributed the charge of his Elephantes emongeſt his frendes, and placed his footemen, and archers behinde them. He had manye that ſounded vppon Timbrelles (being Inſtrumentes that the Indians vſe in ſteede of Trompettes) wherewith their eares were ſo filled, that ỹ noyſe of their enemies litle moued them. They bare alſo the Image of Hercules in ỹ front of their foote battaile, which was done for an encouragement for them to fyght well, & for a note of reproſe and offence to them that ſhould flye from that their ſtandarde.

For

For it was losse of lyke to them that lefte it in the fielde. So that the feare whiche they conceiued of Hercules that sometime had bene their enemye, was then turned into a veneracion, & a religion. The syght bothe of the Elephantes, and Porus himself, astonyed the Macedons, & caused thē a while to staye. For the beastes being set in order emonges the armed men shewed a farre of like high towers, & Porus himself exceding in maner the stature of many, the Elephāt whereupon he did ryde, was a setting forth vnto his highnesse, which excelled so much all the other Elephantes, as he himself excelled the rest of men: So that Alexander beholding both Porus, and his power, said, that at length he had founde a perle equall vnto his harte. For we haue to doe (qō he) both with terrible beastes, and with notable men of warre: And therupon looked towardes Cenon & saide vnto him: When I with Ptholomeus, Perdicas, & Ephestion shall sett vppon the left battaile of our enemies, & you shall see vs in the heate of the fyght, do you then sett forwardes my right battaile: & freshely assaile them, when you see them begin to fall out of order. Antigonus, Leonatus & Taaron, do you bende a-

gainſt their maine battaile, & ſet vpon their front. Our pykes be long, & ſtrong, & cānot ſerue to any better vſe, then againſt the Elephants, wherewith they maye bee thruſt through, & ſuche ouerthrowen as be caried vpon their backes. The Elephantes be but an vncerteine force, whiche vſe to do moſte harme to their owne parte: for as they vſe to go againſt their enemies ſo long as they be at comaundement: ſo when they be once put in feare, they tourne againſt their owne ſide, and ſhew moſte rage towardes them. He had not ſo ſoone ſpoken thoſe woordes, but he put ſpurres to his horſe, paſſinge againſt his enemies: and when, accordynge to his appointment he had geuen ỹ charge, Cenus with a great force brake vppon the left battaile. And the phalanx at the ſame inſtant brake in emongeſt the middeſt of their enemies. When Porus ſaw the horſemen gaue the charge, he put forwardes his Elephantes to encounter them. But they being ſlow beaſtes, and not apt ſodainly to moue, were preuented by the ſwiftnes of ỹ horſes: & their bowes ſtode not them in any great ſteed: for by reaſō their arrows were ſo long, & heauy, that they coulde not nocke them within their bowes, except they ſtaide

firſte

ſtrike their bowes vppon the grounde, and the grounde being ſo ſlipperye that they coulde haue no perfyte footyng: whyleſt they were preparyng them ſelues to ſhoot, their enemies were come emongeſt them. Then euerye man fledd from thorder that Porus hadde geuen, as it chaunceth oftentymes emongeſt troubled myndes, where feare beareth more rule, then the Captaines appoinctmēt. For in ſo many partes as their armie was deuyded, ſo manye generals became emonges thē. Some would ſoigne all their battaile in one, other would haue them deuyded. Some willed to ſtay, & other to go forwardes, and encloſe their enemies about: There was no generall cōſultacion emongeſt them. Porus notwythſtanding accompanied with a fewe (wyth whome ſhame preuayled more then feare) aſſembled ſuche together, as were dyſpercled abroad, and went forwardes agaynſte hys enemies, ſettyng his Elephantes in the fronte of the battayle. They put the Macedones in feare, troublynge wyth theyre vnwonted crye, not onelye the horſe that naturallye do feare them, but alſo amazed the men, and diſtourbed their order Inſomuche that they whiche a litle before thought

thought themselues victours, looked about which waye to flye, and saue themselues: Whyche thing when Alexander perceiued, he sent against the Elephantes, the Agrians, and Thracians, that were men lyght armed, and apter to skirmishe a farre of, then to fyght hande to hande. They gaue ẏ Elephantes and their gouernours muche a doe, and sore afflicted them with the multitude of theire dartes, and arrowes that they bestowed emonges them: And ẏ phalanx came constantlye forwardes agaynst them that were in feare. But such as preſsed ouer forwarde in fyghting with the Elephantes, procured their manyfest destruction: who being trampled to death wyth their feete were an example to other, not to be ouer hastye in aduenturing thẽselues. The moste terrible fyght was, when the Elephantes wyth their long trunkes called *Proboſcides*, tooke men in their armour from the ground, and deliuered them vp to their gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfully, tyll the daye was farre spent: the souldiours somtyme flyyng from the Elephantes, and sometime pursuynge after them, vntill that wyth a certeyn kind of crooked weapons called *Copidae* (prepared

red for the purpose) they cut the Elephants vppon the legges. Those the Macedons had right aptly deuysed: for not onelye the feare of death, but also the feare of a newe kynd of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing vnproued. Finally the Elephantes wearied with woundes, with their violēt struglyng dyd cast their gouernours to the earth, and tare them in peeces: for they were put in such feare, that they were no more hurtfull to their enemies, but driuen out of the battaile like sheepe. Porus being forsaken of the more parte of his mē cessed not to cast dartes, whereof he hadde plentie prepared vpō his Elephant, emongest them that flocked about hym, wherby he woundyng many, by reason he lay open to euery mannes blowe, was layde at on all partes, till he had receiued nyne woūds behynde and before, through the whyche he bled so muche, that he hadde no power to caste anye more, but for feeblenesse they fell out of hys handes. The Elephant also whiche he dyd ryde vpon, pricked forwards wyth furye, made a greate disturbaunce amongest the Macedons, vntill that hys gouernour seeyng the kyng so faynt, that hee let fall his Dartes, and to bee almoste

past

past his remembraunce, stirred the beast to flye awaye, whome Alexander folowed in all that hee might: but his horse that was thrust in with many woundes, fell downe dead vnder him: Wherfore whyles he was about to chaunge, and take another, was cast farre behynde. In the meane season Taxiles brother, that was sent by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhorte him that he shoulde not bee so obstinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yeld himselfe vnto the victour. But he notwithstanding that hys strength was nere past, and his blood fayled, yet sturred vp at a knowen voyce, said, that he knew him to be the brother of Taxiles, a traitour to his kyng and his coũtrey, and with that woorde tooke a dart whyche by chaunce was not fallen awaye, & threw it so at Taxiles brother, ỹ it passed through the middest of his brest vnto his backe. And hauing shewed this last proofe of his manhood, fledde agayne moze fast then before: But when the Elephaunt, through manye woundes that he had receiued, faynted in lyke sorte, then hee stayed, and turned hys footemen towardes hys enemyes that pursued. By that tyme Alexander was come nere hym, who vnderstandynge the wyl-

ful-

fulneſſe of Porus, willed none to bee ſpared that made reſiſtaunce: Whereuppon euerye manne threwe dartes againſte Porus, and ſuche footemenne as ſtoode in hys defence: wherewyth at length he was oppreſſed, that hee began to fall from his Elephaunt. Then the Indian whyche was his gouernour, thinkyng that Porus deſyred to haue lyghted, cauſed the beaſte after hys accuſtomed maner to bende towardes the earthe, whyche ſubmittyng hym ſelfe, all the reſt as they were taughte, bowed downe theyr bodyes likewiſe, whyche was the cauſe of Porus takynge, and of the reſte. When Alexander ſawe Porus bodye vppon the grounde, cauſed hym to bee ſpoyled, thinking hee hadde bene dead, and dyuers ranne about hym to pull of hys harnays, and hys veſture: whyche thynge when the Elephaunt ſawe, hee began to defende hys maſter, runnynge vppon hys ſpoylers, and went about to lyfte hym agayne vppon hys backe: whereuppon they all ſettyng vppon the Elephant ſlew hym, and layde Porus in a carte: Whom when Alexander dyd behold, lyfting vp his eyes, and moued wyth no hatred, but wyth compaſſion ſayed vnto hym:

what

what mischiefe and madnesse was in thy mynde, hearing of the fame of myne actes, to hazarde the battayle with mee, and my power, seing Taxiles was so neere an ensample of the clemency that I vse to suche as submitte themselues? To whom he made aunswere: For somuche (quod he) as I am demaunded a question, I will aunswere as freely as I am spoken vnto. Knowing myne owne strength, and not hauyng yet proued thyne, I thought no man of greater power then myself: but nowe the successe of this battayle hath declared thee to be mightier: And yet therein I do impute to my selfe not a little felicitie, that I haue wonne the seconde place and am next vnto thee.

He was asked moze ouer his oppinion, after what maner he thought good the victorie should be vsed. Vse it (quod he) after suche sorte, as this dayes fortune shall put in thy mynde, wherein there hath beene sufficient proofe shewed, howe transitorie the felicitie of man is.

This admonishement auailed him moze, then if he had submitted himselfe, or made any suite. For when Alexander sawe the greatnesse of his courage, and his harte so voyde of feare, that it coulde not be broken with any aduersitie, was moued not onlye to geue him his lyfe, but also honorably to entertaine him. For so long as he laye diseased of his woundes, he tooke no lesse care of his curyng, then if he had fought in hys quarell. And when hee was once healed (contrary to that whiche all menne looked

for)

for) he receiued him emong the number of his frendes, and enlarged his kyngdome greater then before. There was nothing in Alexãders nature more perfect, or more constaunt, then that he woulde euer haue vertue in admiracion, when it was suche, that it deserued true praise and glorye: and specially when he saw the same in his enemye. For when it chaunsed in any of hys owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thinking that their fame might bee a destruction to his owne greatnesse, whiche he euer thought to growe greater, as they were of greatnesse that he subdued.

Alex: abhomd balour mi⁹ ẽ inemid

¶The nynth booke of Quintus *Curtius, of the actes of Alexander* the great, kyng of Macedon.

ALexander reioysynge in so notable a victorye, whereby hee sawe the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offered vp sacrifice vnto the Sunne: and to cause his souldiers to be more willing to go forwardes in finishing the reste of the warres, assembled them together, &

after

(after he hadde commended their doinges) declared howe in that latter battayle, they had defeated, and broken the force of all the Indians power, and shoulde synde from thenceforth nothyng but a pleintifull praie. For he sayed that in the countrey whereunto he was going, the ryches chiefely remained ỹ was so much spoken of throughout the whole worlde, in respect whereof, the spoiles of the Persians were but vile, and baggage: and that occasion was nowe geuen them, not only to fill their own houses, but also all *Macedonia* and *Greece* wyth pearles, with precious stones, wyth golde, and with Iuorie. The souldiours being desyrous both of ryches and of glory, because they had neuer founde his wordes vayne, promised him to doe what soeuer he would haue them: whereupon he dimissed them full of good heape, and sett them about the makyng of shippes, to thintent that hauing ouerrunne all *Asia*, he myght visite the *Ocean* sea, that was in ỹ ende of all ỹ world. The mountaynes next at hand were plẽtifull of Timber to make shippes withall, in cuttyng downe whereof the Macedons founde Serpentes of suche bignes, as they had not seene before, and also *Rhinocerotes*,

beastes

beastes that be seldom founde in anye other place, which name was geuen to them bye the Greekes: for in the Indian language they are otherwise called. Alexander buylded a citie vpon either side of the Ryuer of *Hidaspis*, which once perfourmed, hee gaue to euerye one of his Capteines a crowne of gold, and a thousand peeces of gold besides: preferring and rewarding euery other, according to their quality, degree, & deseruig. Abiasares, whiche had sent Embassadours vnto Alexander before the battaile foughte with Porus, sente then Embassadours to him againe, offering to doe all things that he would apoint, so that he might kepe his body at libertie: for he desired not to liue, except he might remaine a king: & he thought him self vnmeete to reign, after he had been once a captiue. He signified again to Abiasares, that if his comming should be grieuous, he would not sticke to visit hym in persone. Hauing thus vanquished Porus, & passed ỹ Riuer of *Hidaspis*, he went forward into ỹ inward partes of *India*, which was a countrey ful of great woods, & high trees, ỹ ayre very holsome, & tẽperate, the shadowe of the trees mittigating the heat of the sunne, & ỹ plenty of springs keping the ground moist:

Ther were also many serpents sene, whose scales glistered like golde: There was nothing more daũgerous, then the poison proceedyng from them: for immediatly vppon the stinging, death followed, till such tyme as thinhabitours of the countreye shewed a remedye. From thence throughe desertes they came vnto the great Riuer of *Hiarotis*, wherunto ther ioigned a great wood, which hauing such trees as are not wõt to be seen in other places, was also full of wylde peacockes. Alexander remouing his camp from thence, wan a towne by assault, & takynge pledges, appointed them to pay tribute. After that he came to a great citie (after ỹ maner of that countrey) which was bothe well walled, & also enuironed about with a marrisse. Thinhabitaunts came forthe against Alexander, & ioigning their cartes together in a front (wherein theire custome was to fight) they profered him the battaile. Some occupied dartes, some speares, & other ares, and with great agilitie leaped to and fro, to their carts, when either they would relieue their fellowes that were wery of fyghtyng, or els succour, or rescue such as were in distresse. Thys vnwonted kinde of fyghtyng put the Macedons at the firste in feare, specially

ſtally being hurt a far of by theire enemies, & not able to come to hand ſtripes wᵭ them. But after they had conſidered theire diſorderd maner, they eſteemed not theire force, but encloſed their enemies about, and thruſt them in wᵭ pikes: & the ſooner to defeat thē, they cut the bandes, wherewyth the cartes were tyed, to ſeperate them a ſunder. Whē they had after ẏ maner loſt viij. C. of theire men, they fled againe into the citie, whiche the next day the Macedons did winne by aſſault. Certaine ther were ẏ ſaued them ſelues by flying, whiche ſeeing the citie loſte, ſwomme ouer the water, and fylled all the tolwnes ther about with feare. They declared of what inuincible force theire enemies were of, iudging them in reſpect of their power, rather Goddes then men. When Alexander hadde gotten that citie, hee ſent Perdicas with a parte of his army to deſtroy the countrey, and committing another parte to Eumenes for ẏ ſubduing of ſuch as would not become obedient, he with the reſt of hys power came vnto a ſtrong citie, which was the refuge of all ẏ countrey therabout. Notwithſtanding that the inhabitaunts ſent to Alexander for peace, yet theye prepared neuertheles for the war, by reaſon of a ſedicio

which rose amongest them, that made them to be of diuers oppinions: Some would rather haue endured anye extremitie then to yelde, and other thought they were not hable to make resistaunce: and whylest they differed so in oppinions, and made no commen consultacion amongest them selues: Such as held oppinion to yeld vp the citye, opened the gates, and receiued in their enemies. And notwithstanding that Alexãder had iust cause of displeasure against the cõtrary faccion, yet he pardoned them all, and receiuinge their pledges, remoued towarde the nexte citie. When thindians that stoode vpon the walles saw the pledges that were brought before the armye, whom they perceiued to be of the same nacion, desired communicacion with them: who declaring both the kings clemency, and his force, did moue them to render vp their citie: whose ensample the reste of the cities did followe. From thence he came into the Citye of *Sophites*, which is a nacion (as the Indians thinke) most excelling in wisedome, best gouerned, and that haue the best customes amongest them. The childzen that be there gotten, are not nourished, and brought vp accordinge to the wyll of theire parentes, but by the

order

ỏꝛder of ſuch as haue the charge committed vnto them to viewe the ſtate of thinfants. If they perceiue any not apt to become actiue, oꝛ els wanting any of their liins, they cauſe thē ſtreight waies to be killed. They vſe to marye without anye reſpecte of kinred they come of, oꝛ the greatnes of parentage, making no choyſe, but in the ſhape of the body, which is the thing that is onely eſteemed amongeſt thē. The king him ſelf was within ẏ chiefe citie of the countrey, againſte the which, Alexander bꝛought his powꝛer. The gates were ſhut, & no man appeared in armes vpon ẏ walles, to make anye defence: wherefoꝛe he ſtoode in doubt a great while, whether ẏ citie was abandoned, oꝛ els ẏ the inhabiters had kepte them ſelues ſecret foꝛ ſome policie. Whiles he remained in ẏ expectacion, ſodainly ẏ gate was opened, & ẏ king (which in goodlines of perſon excelled all the reſt) came fourth with his two ſons. He ware a garment of golde, & purple empaled, ẏ couered the calfe of his legge, & the ſoles he ware on his fete were ſet with pꝛecious ſtones. Al his armes were garniſhed with pearles, & had hanginge at his eares two pꝛecioꝰ ſtones, whiche were excellent, both foꝛ bignes, & bꝛightnes: & ther he had a

scepter of golde set wᵗ preciᵒ stones (called *Berilli*) which he (after his salutaciō made) wᵗ humble submission deliuered vnto Alexander: yeldinge both him selfe, his children, & his kingdome into his hands. Ther were in that countrey very notable dogges for ỳ huntinge of wilde beastes, which specially were geuen to be eager vpon ỳ Lyon. The kinge therfore to shew their force, & propertie vnto Alexander, put fowre of them vnto a great Lion, whiche streight waies caught him fast. Then one which was accustomed to ỳ office, tooke one of those dogges by the legge to plucke him from the Lyon, and because he would not loose his holde, cutte of his legge with a sword. But when ỳ dogge stacke neuerthcles vnto his game, he was cut in sunder in piece meale, til such time as he died, hauing his teeth still fastened in the Lions flesshe, suche a feruentnes of nature had wrought in those beastes, as we vnderstoode by the report. Somtime I am enforced to wryte thinges that I can scarsely beleue: For I neither dare affirme the things wherof I doubt, nor concele such things as I haue receiued for truth. Alexāder leauing this king wᵗin his own kingdōe, cāe vnto ỳ riuer of *Hispasis*, & there ioygned wᵗ Ephestion,

tion, which had subdued ỹ countrey therabout. One Phegelas was king of the nexte nacion, which cõmaunding his subiectes to continue in tillinge of the grounde as they were wont to do, met Alexander with riche presentes, refusing nothing that was commaũded him. Whē he had taried with him two dayes, & was determined the third day to haue passed ỹ riuer, he foũde therin great difficultie, by reason ỹ the streame was so large, & full of great stones: He stayed therfore a while, to be more fully aduertised of the state of those countreys, and of all suche things as were necessarie for him to know. He vnderstode by Phegelas how beyonde that riuer there lay a desert of ten daies iurney, and nexte to that desert the riuer of *Ganges*, which was the greatest riuer in all the *Orient*. He shewed that beyond *Ganges* ther inhabited two nacions called Gangaridãs, and Pharasians, whose kynge was called Aggramenes, which vsed to come to ỹ field with xx. thousand horsemen CC. thousande footemenne, two thousaunde armed waggons, and three thousaunde Elephantes, whiche were counted the greatest terroure. Those thynges seemed incredible vnto Alexander, and therefore enquyred of Porus,

if the things were true that had been tolde him. He confirmed Phegelas repoꝛt concerning the foꝛce of the nacion. But hee sayde their king was come of a noble bloud, but of the baseſt soꝛt of men, whose father beyng a barbour, and with great paine getting hys dayly liuing, came in fauour wᵗ the Quene, who bꝛought him to haue al the doinges about the king her husband, whiche was afterwardes slaine by their treason. Then he vnder colour to become tutour vnto ẏ childꝛen, vsurped the kingdome to him selfe, & putting the childꝛen to death, did beget him that was then king, being in hatred and disgrace of the people, as one ẏ followed moꝛe the maners of his fathers foꝛmer estate, thē suche as did beseme the dignitie of a pꝛince. When Alexander hard Poꝛus affirme this matter, he became in gꝛet trouble of mind, not that he regarded the multitude of his enemies, noꝛ the foꝛce of their Elephauntes: But he feared the greatnes of the Ryuers, and the situacion of the countreye, so dyffycult to entre vppon. Hee thought it a harde enterpꝛise to seeke out nacions so farre inhabyting in the vtter most bounds of ẏ woꝛld. Yet on the other side the greedinesse of glorye, and the vnsaciable desire of fame, made

no

no place to seeme to farre, nor no aduenture to be ouer harde. Hee doubted also that the Macedons, whiche hadde passed so manye countreis, and were waren aged with warres, woulde not bee content to followe him ouer so many Ryuers, and against so many difficulties of nature lying in theire waye. For hee iudged, that since theye abounded, and were so laden with spoile, they woulde rather seke to enioy such things as they had gotten, then to trauaile anye farther in getting of more, he could not think ẏ same appetite to be in his souldiours, ẏ was in him selfe. For hee compassed in his minde howe to get the Empire of the whole world, into which matter he had but made hys entrye: where as theye wеried with trauaile, and thynking to haue past all perill, looked to enioy with speede, the fruite of all theire laboure: yet for all that, hys affectyon ouercame reason. For hee assembled his armye together & spake vnto thē after this maner.

I am not ignorant (mye souldyours) howe that there be nowe many rumours sowed amongst you by the Indians, purposely to put you in feare. But the vanitie of theire lying is not so newe a thynge, that it is able nowe to deceyue you. The Persians after that maner would haue made both ẏ streightes of *Silicia*, and the plaines of *Mesopotamia* terryble vnto you: yea and put you in feare of the Ryuers

of

of *Tygre* & *Euphrates*: and yet wee waded ouer the one of them, and passed the other by a bridge. The fame neuer reporteth things truly, but maketh al things greater then they be in dede. Euē our glory though it be growen to a certaine perfection, yet it is more in fame, thē in effect. Which of you of late did think that you should haue been able to endure the Elephauntes, shewyng a farre of like Castels? Whoe thought I coulde haue passed the Riuer of *Hidaspis*, when it was reported to be muche greater then it was? We should long ago (my souldiours) haue fled out of *Asia*, if tales could haue caused vs to turn our backes. Think you that the number of the Elephaunts be greater then you haue seene herds of beastes in other places? seing they be so rare in the world and so straunge to be taken? there must needes be much more difficultie in the making of them tame. The same vanitie that hath reported them to you to be of suche number, hath numbred also their horsemen and their footemen. Concerning the Ryuers, the more broade they bee, the more gently they must runne. For such as be narrow & of small breadthe, runne alwaies with the most vehement streame, whereas contrariwise, the brode Ryuers passe their courses more mildely. But you wil peraduenture say that al the peril is at the shore, where your enemies shal waite for your arriual. Whatsoeuer the Riuer be, the hasard is al one at them landing. But imagine that all those things were true. Whether is it the greatnes of the beasts, or ỹ multitude of the men that put you in feare? As concerning the Elephants, we haue had experience of thē of late, howe muche more rigorously they rage against theire owne partie, then againste vs, what should we esteme thē, but onely abate the greatnes of their bodies, & such weapōs as we haue prepared for ỹ purpose? What matter is it whether they be of the like number that Porus had, or whether

they be

they be. iij. M. seing we perceiue, that when two or three be once woũded, the rest bend them selues to flye away? And for asmuch as they cannot well be gouerned when they be but few, when there bee so many thousands together, they must needes bee an impediment one to another, & breede a confusion amongst them selues: they be so vnwieldy by reason of their huge bodies, that they be neither apt to pas forwardes, nor yet to flye. I haue alwaies so little esteemed them, ỹ when I haue had plentye of that kinde I would neuer vse them: knowing very wel ỹ they be more daungerous to such as occupy thẽ, then they be to their enemies. But peraduenture it is the multitude of their horsemen & footemen ỹ do moue you: were you neuer wõt to fight agaĩst such numbers: or is it the firste time that you haue encountred with disordred multitudes? The Riuer of *Granike* is a witnesse how inuincible the power of the Macedons is against any multitude. And so is *Silicia* that flowed with the Persians bloude, and *Arbella* whose plaines be strewed with their bones. It is ouer late to count the number of youre enemies, after that with your victorye yee haue made *Asia* desert. whẽ ye passed ouer *Hellespont*, you should then haue considered your small number. Now the Scithians do follow vs: we haue ayde at hand frõ the Bactrians, & we supplye oure power with the Sogdians. yet for al that, it is not in them, in whõ I put my confidence. I haue a regarde vnto your force: I reserue your manhoode aboute mee, as a pledge & assuraunce of my actes & doings. So long as I may stand in the fielde amongst you, I wyll neither way my self, nor mine enemies. Do you but shew an apparaunce, that there is hope in you and cherefulnes. we are not now newly ẽtred into our trauailes, but haue passed all our labours, beeynge come to ỹ rising of the sonne, & to the Occean Sea,

except

except our owne slouthe bee our impediment. Frō thence hauing subdued the world, we shall returne as victours into our countrey. Do not you as these negligent husbandmen, that lose their fruite after it is once ripe. The rewardes of oure iourneye bee greater then our perill. The countrey that wee go vnto, is riche and of no force: thither I purpose to bring you both to winne glory, & to get you spoyle. For worthy you are to cary suche riches into your countrey: which be so plentiful there, that the Sea doth cast them vp against the shore. You be men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue nothing vnproued, nor nothing vndone for feare: I desire & praye you by the glory ye haue gotten, in which ye excede the state of men, and by all that I haue deserued of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remaine as inuincible, that ye will not forsake me, purposing to visit the ende of the worlde, mee I saye that haue been brought vp as a childe amongst you. I will make no mencion howe I am youre king: In the rest of thinges I haue commaunded you: let mee nowe intreat you in this one pointe. It is I that make thys request vnto you, whiche neuer commaunded you any thing, but I put my self formost in thaduenture, and daunger, and the which oftentimes in mine owne person haue been the formoste in defence of the battail: take not the victory out of my hands, with the which (if enuy bee not the let) I shal become equall in glory both to Hercules, & Bacchus. Geeue your assent to mine intercession, & at length breake your obstinate silence. Where is your shewtyng become that was wont to be a declaracyon of your cherefulnes? Wher be the countenaunces of my countrey men? I knowe not mye fouldyours, and it seemethe that I am not knowen of you. Mee thynkes I crye to youre deafe eares in vayne, and goe aboute in waste to sturre vp youre vnwyllynge, and vnmoouable myndes.

Notwith-

Notwithstãding al these wordes, they hong downe their heds towards the earth, & perseuered stil in silence. Then he proceeded: I know not (quod he) wherin I haue vnwittyng offended you, that you wil not once voucheſafe to looke me in the face. I seeme to be solitary, and in a deserte. Is there none of you that I speake vnto, will aunswer mee? Is there none at the least wais wil denie my request? What is the thing that I require? euen your owne glory, & your owne encreaſe. Where be they now that I sawe not long ago contending who should first take vp their king, when he was wounded? And nowe ye leaue me alone: ye forsake mee, ye betray me to mine enemies. But I wil not leaue mine enterprise though I goe alone. Put me forwards to those Riuers, to those beasts and to those nacions, the very names of whom yee feare so muche. The Scithians, & Bactryans shal go with me, which of late were mine enemies, and now bee my souldiours. I had rather die, then bee a king to be ruled, & at other mennes appointment. Depart you home, go I saye, and triumphe of the abandoning of youre kynge. For I wyll rather obteine heare the victory, wherof you haue dispayred, or els die a deathe that shall bee honourable. Notwithstanding all that he had said, there was not one souldiour that would open his mouth to speake, but stoode wayting that some of the Princes, and greate Captaines should declare vnto ẏ kīg their states, & how ẏ ther remained not in thē any obstinate refusal of the wars, but that they were exhausted wᵭ woundes, & wered with continuall

trauail

trauaile, that they were not able to endure any longer. As they stoode thus astonied, & afraide in silence, & looking vpō ỹ ground, there began first a whispering, & a rumoure amongst them, and afterwardes a lamentacion: and by litle and litle, theye beganne more manifestly to shewe theire dolour, the teares falling from theire eyes. The kinges anger was then so turned into compassion, that he was not able neither to keepe hymselfe from teares, but the whole assemblye brast out in an excessiue weping. And when ỹ rest were at a stay to speake, Cenus toke vpon him to prosse forwards, towardes the Judgement seat, wher Alexander stode, signifiyng that he had somewhat to say. Whē the souldiers saw him pull his helmet from his head (for so it was the custome to speake vnto the king) they beganne to require hym that hee woulde vtter the cause of the whole armye. Then Cenus began on thys wise. The Goddes defend our myndes from all wicked thoughtes, as I doubt not but they will: there are none of your souldiours, but of the same mynd towardes you, that theye haue beene in tymes paste, whether it bee youre pleasure to commaunde them to goe forwardes to fighte, and to hasarde themselues, or with theire bloude commend their name vnto the posteritie. And if you wyll needes persewer in your oppinion, thoughe wee bee vnarmed, naked,

naked, and without bloud, wee wyll eyther come after you, or goe before, as you shall thynke expedient: But if you will bee content to heare youre souldiours griefes, and complaintes that bee not feigned, but expressed by force of very necessitie, I humblye beseeche you then, that yee would vouchsafe fauourablye to heare them, that constantlye haue followed your authoritie, and fortune, and are yet readye to followe whersoeuer you wyll appoynte. O Alexander, wyth the greatnesse of youre actes, yee haue not ouercome onelye your enemies, but also vs your owne souldiours. whatsoeuer mannes mortalitie is able to fulfill, that is performed by vs, hauyng passed ouer so manye Seas, and Countreis better knowen to vs then to the verye inhabitours, now remayning in maner in the vttermoste ende of the worlde. And yet for all thys, youre purpose is to passe into an other worlde, and seeke oute an Inde vnknowen to the Indians. Yee couet to plucke oute the wylde beastes, and serpentes oute of theire dennes, and lurkyng places, myndyng to searche further wyth your victorye, then the Sunne hath visited wyth his beames, whyche truelye is an imaginacyon meete for your harte, but farre exceedyng our capacitye, and power. Your manhoode and courage is alwayes in encrease: but oure force groweth in declinacion. Beholde oure bodies destitute of bloude, perced wyth so manye wounds, and rotted wyth so manye scarres. Oure weapons nowe bee dulled, and oure armoure is wasted, and consumed: wee weare oure apparell after the Persians manner, because oure countreye garmentes doe fayle vs: wee are degenerate out of our owne fashyon, and growen into a straunge habyte. What is hee that hathe hys corselet, or horse particular to hym selfe? Cause it to bee enquired how manye remayne amongst vs, & what remaineth to euerye

man

man of the spoile. Being the victours of al men, of all men we are the poorest. It is not aboundaunce, or excesse that troubleth vs, but the very warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, & yet ye mind to put forth this goodly armye of youres naked vnto those beasts: The multitude of whom though the Indians purposely do encrease, yet of their vayne report we may perceiue the number to bee greate. But if ye be vtterly determined to passe yet further into Inde, the countrey that lieth Southwarde is not so desert as the other, whyche beeyng subdued, yee maye passe to that sea, whiche nature hath appointed to bound in the world. Why do you seeke ỹ glory a farre of, whiche remaineth to you ready at your hand: Here the Occean sea dothe meete vs: & except your minde be to wander, wee are come to ỹ place predestinate vnto vs. I hadde rather speake these thinges before you, then behinde your backe: for I seeke not to winne fauour amongst the men of warr that stand heare about mee, but desire you shoulde rather heare theire myndes expressed in playne woordes, then to heare theire griefe and their grudge vttered in muttering, & in murmure. When Cenus hadde made an ende of hys tale, there rose a crye & lamentacion, which with confused voyces euerye where called Alexander their king, their father, and their lorde. Then the other captaines, (and specially ye elders, whyche bye reason of theire age hadde the more honest excuse, & greater authority) made ỹ like request so ỹ ỹ kyng was not able to chastise thē being in ỹ obstinacy, not mitigat thē being so moued.

Therefore

Therefore vncertaine what to doe, he lepte frō the iudgement place, & cōmaunding his lodging to be shut in, admitted no man but such as were accustomed about his person. Two daies he consumed in his anger, & ỹ third he came forth amongst hys men, causing.xij. alters of square stone there to be set vp, as a monumēt of his iourney, & willed ỹ trenches of his campe to be made wider, and the places where ỹ souldiers lay to be ēlarged greater, then serued for the bignesse of their bodies: thinking by the forme & shape of things thus increased, to leaue a deceyptful wonder vnto his posteritie. Frō thence he returned again by the way he had passed before & encāped vpō the Riuer of *Acesines*: Cenus chaunced there to die, whose deathe ỹ king lamented: but yet he said that for so few daies he had made an ouerlong Oraction: as though he alone should haue returned into *Macedon*. By that time ỹ nauy of shippes, which he hadde appointed to bee made stoode in redines a flote: & Memnon in the meane season brought him oute of *Thrace* a supply of.vi. thousand horsmen, and besides from *Harpalus*. vij. M. footemen with.xxv. M armours that were wrought with siluer & gold, which he distributed amongst his mē,

and commaunded the olde to be burned, pur
posing to passe vnto the Occean Sea wyth
a M. shippes. But before his departure, hee
reconciled together by affinitie Porus, and
Tariles, betwixt whom there was a newe
discorde risen vpon theire olde hatreds. Hee
had obteined of them great aide bothe in the
making, & furnishing of his nauy. During ỹ
time he was about that busines, hee builded
there two cities: whereof hee called the one
Nicea, & the other *Bucephalon*, dedicating ỹ
latter by the name of his horse ỹ was dead.
He gaue order that his Elephants, and ca-
riage shoulde passe by lande, and hee sailed
downe ỹ Riuer, proceding euery day about
xl. furlongs, so ỹ he might euer land his po-
wer in suche places as he thought conueni-
ent. At length he came into a coũtrey wher
as the riuer of *Hidaspis*, & *Acesines* do ioigne
together, and do runne from thence into the
boundes of a nacion called *Sobions*. They de
clared that their predecessours came of Her-
cules army, which being left there sicke, did
inhabite the countreye. They were clothed
in beastes skinnes, vsing clubbes for theire
weapons: and though they had left the cus-
tomes of the Greekes, yet ther appered ma-
ny thinges among them, that declared from

whence

whence they were descended. Here the king landed and marched two hundred and ten furlongs within the countrey, whyche hee wasted: and tooke the chiefest Citie in the same. There were forty thousand men that stoode in defence against him vpon a riuers side, but hee passed the water, putting them to flight, and after they fled into the Citye, hee wanne it by force. The children were slaine, and the rest sold as slaues. He assaulted another Citie where hee was repulsed with the great force of the defendantes, and lost many of his men. But when the inhabitauntes sawe that hee continued still the siege, dispairing of theire sauegarde, they set fyer on theire houses, and burned them selues, theire wiues, & theire children. Which fyer when the Macedons quenched, & theye kyndled the same againe, it semed a straūge contention, the citizens to destroy their own Citie, their enemies labouryng to saue it: the warres so contrariously chaunged the lawes wrought in mā by nature. The castle was saued, wherin a guarrisō was left. Alexander went about this castle by water, which was enuironed with three of ỹ greatest Riuers in all *Inde, Ganges* except *Indus*

passing vpon the North side, & *Acesines* running into *Hidaspis* vpon the South. Where these riuers mette, the waues rose like surges of the Sea, being full of mudde, & ooes, which by ỹ course of the water were driuen vnto ỹ sides: for al that the riuers are broad yet the chanels are but narow, wherin the shippes must passe. The waues did ryse so high, and thicke, breaking sometime vppon the puppes of the shippes, and sometime vpon the side, that the shypmen began to vale their sailes. But they were so troubled thorough feare, and the violent swiftnes of the streme, ỹ they could not order their tacklig, so that two of their greatest shippes weare drowned within sight: And the smaller vessels which were as vnable to be gouerned, were driuen vpon the shore without anye harme. The kyng chaunced vpon the place whereas the waues went highest, wherewith his shippe was so tossed, & trauersed, ỹ the helm could not direct his course. Wherfore the king doubtyng of drowning, pulled of his garmente readye to caste hym selfe into the water, and hys frendes dyd swymme neare thereaboute readye to receyue him: It appearing to hym doubtfull, which peril was greatest, either to swimme

or to

or to continue still aboard. But ỹ mariners laboured wonderfully with their oares, adding al the force that lay in mans power to cut through the waues, by whose importunate trauaile, the water seemed to deuide a sunder, and to geue place: so that at length they haled oute of the surges: & yet not able to bring the shippe to the shoare, dashed vpon ỹ nert flat, it appearing ỹ the shippes, & the streame had fought a battail togethers. Alexander hauing escaped thys perill, set vp to euery riuer an altar, wherupon he offred due sacrifice, and that doone, paste forward xxx. furlongs. Frõ thẽce he came into the countrey of the Sudricans, & Mallians, which accustomed to bee at warre amongst them selues: then for theire owne defence, they ioigned in societie. They assembled in armes to the number. of. ix. M. footemen. x. M. horsemen, & .ix. C. armed wagõs, wherof when the Macedõs were aduertised, which beleued that they had passed all perils, seeing a freshe warre arise, with a newe fierce nacion, were amased with a sodaine feare, and began againe with seditious woordes to reproue their kyng. Theye alleged that hee would lately haue compelled them to passe the riuer of *Ganges*, for to make warre

vpon those nacions lying beyond the same: which enterprise though it were lefte, theye had not for al that ended ỹ warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a new labour, being put forth amongst these wilde nacion, to make the Ocean Sea opẽ to him with their bloud, and to bee drawen beyonde the sunne, and sterres. They were compelled (they sayde) to visit those places, which nature coueted to remoue from mãs knowledge. They grudged ỹ to their newe armour, ther were new enemies raysed vp, whõ if they should vãquish, & put to flight, they could not see what benefite they coulde receiue thereby, but onely darknes & obscuritie of the aire, which alwaies couered the deepe Sea, replenished with multitude of monsters, wallowing in those immouable waters, wheras nature decaying, she fayled of her force. The king litle moued in his owne respect, was greatly troubled wt those passions of his souldiers. Wherefore hee assembled them altogether, declaring of how feble a force those nacions were, whõ theye feared so muche, whiche onelye remayned, and were impediment vnto them (hauyng passed ouer so manye countreis) to attayne bothe to the full of their trauaile, and to the ende

ende of the worlde. He shewed howe that in respect of their former feare, he had left hys enterprise ouer *Ganges*, with the conquest of the nacions inhabiting beyond the same, and hadde directed his iourney thys waye, where as their glory should be as great, and their perill much lesse, and wherin they had not farre to trauail seeing the Ocean was in maner within sight: ỹ aire wherof he felt blowing in his face. He requir ed them therfore that they woulde not enuye the glorye that he had sought by passing the bounds of Hercules, and Bacchus, seeing that with so litle paine they might geue vnto their kyng perpetuall fame and immortality. In doing wherof they shoulde depart out of *India* as victorours, whereas otherwise they shoulde seeme to flye awaye from thence. It is the propertie of euery multitude, and specially of men of warre, to be drawen with euerye litle motion, amongst whom, as sedicion doth soone rise, so it is soone pacified. Ther was neuer a more cheerefull crye made of anye armye before, then the souldiers then made vnto Alexander, whiche willed hym to leade them whether so euer hee woulde, and make him selfe equall in glory to them, whose actes he did counterfeit. Alexander

reioysing in the wyllingnes that appeared in them, remoued streight wayes towardes his enemies, that weare the stoutest people of al the Indians. They prepared them selues stoutly for the warres, & chose for theire captaine one of the Drizacans, that was of an approued manhod: Who encamping at the foote of a mountaine, made fyers all abroade, to cause his number appeare the greater, and went about in vaine to feare ỹ Macedons, when they were in rest, by making of Alarmes, with their cries & maner of howling. When the day appeared, Alexander hauing an assured trust to winne the victorye, commaunded the souldiers to put on theire armour, and chearefullye to fall in order of battaile. But the Indians (whether it were for feare, or by reason of some sedicion risen amongst them) sodeinlye fled into the desert mountaines, whom Alexander followed in vaine, and not able to ouertake them, tooke their cariage. After this he came to a citie of the Drizacans, whereunto great number were fled, aswell in truste of the strength of the place, as of their owne power. As Alexander was about to make the approche, Demophon hys diuiner admonished him, that he should eyther deferre

the

the matter, or els not meddle wyth it at all: for that there appeared signes that hys lyfe should be in perill. When Alexander had hard his wordes, he beheld him, & sayd: If any man should interrupt thee, when thou arte busy aboute thye science, or considering of the intrails: should not he seeme vnto thee troublous, & his cõming be vngrateful? Yes truly (quod he) So art thou now vnto me (quod Alexander. For hauing so great matters in hand of more momente then the entrayles of beastes: I fynde no greater impediment then a superstitious diuiner. And as soone as he had spoken the worde, he caused them to reare vp ladders, and whyles other men sticked, and stayed at the matter, he mounted vp the wal. The same was verye narrowe in the toppe, not deuided wyth lopes (as is commenly vsed) but enclosed w one whole and continual battilment round about, which caused it to bee the more harde to scale. Alexander therfore hauing no conuenient rowme to stand at his defence, stayed vpon the wall, receiuing vpon his target the dartes which were cast at hym from all partes. His souldiours coulde not get vnto him: they were so beaten from the wals by the multitude of shot that came from aboue. Yet at length when by theire staying theye saw their king geuen vp into their enemies

handes

handes, shame ouercame theire imminent daunger. But their ouermuch haste was ouer great a let, & the cause, why they coulde not come to the rescue of theire kyng. For whyles euery man coueted vp the ladders, they were so sore laden, ỹ they brake a sunder, & such as were mounted vpon them, fell downe againe, deceiuing Alexander of hys onely hoape: So that in the syght of all the armye, hee stoode destitute as in a deserte, without anye ayde or succour, and had wearied his left arme (with the whiche he helde his target) in receyuyng the blowes. Hys frēds cried vnto him ỹ he should leap down vnto thē, who stoode in a readines to receiue him. But he geuing no eare vnto them, vndertooke an incredible enterprise, and suche one as hath not been heard of before, deseruing rather fame of rashenes, then of anye commendacion that might sound to his glorye. For wt a ful leape he did cast him self into the citie ỹ was full of his enemies, where as he coulde scarcely haue any hope to fight for his life, or in dying to be reuenged vpon his enemies. For before he could recouer his feete againe, it was likely eyther he shoulde haue been slaine, or taken aliue. But hee by chaunce so conueyed his bodye, that hee fell vppon

vpon his feete, and standing, encountred vñ such as came against hym: Fortune so prouydyng that hee coulde not bee enclosed about, by reason of an olde tree, which (as it had been of purpose) stoode neare vnto the wall: whose broade boughes full of leaues couered him from aboue, & the greatnes of ỹ stocke kept his enemies frõ cõming on his back, & vpon ỹ fore frõt he receyued ỹ darts that were cast against him with his target. For though there were neuer so many that contended with him a farre of, yet durst ther no man come neere vnto him: & the boughs kept of the arrowes and the dartes, so well as his target did. In this extremitie ỹ greatnes of Alexanders fame, chiefly fought for him, & next desperacion: a great encouragement for a man to die honestlye. At length through the multitnde of his enemies that continually flocked about him, both his target was laden with shotte, his helmet was broken with stones, and his legs fainted & fayled vnder him, by reason of his continual trauaile: Whiche thing when his enemyes perceiued, they toke lesse regard to thẽ selues, & drew more neere him, of whom he receyued two with his sworde, in suche sorte, that

that they fell dolwne dead at his feete. And from that time forwardes none was so bold to approche againe so neare him, but threw dartes and shotte arrowes at him a farre of. He lay open to euery mans blowe: & yet (though it were with great pain) defended him selfe vpon his knees, vntill such time as an Indian shot an arrow at hym that was two cubits long, whiche a litle aboue hys right thigh passed through his corselet: By reason of that wounde hee shedde so muche bloud, that he let his sword fall, as one at ỹ pointe of deathe. And therewith became so faint, that he had not strength to plucke out the arrowe. Then the Indian, whiche had hurt him, came with great ioy to spoile hys bodye. But when Alexander felt hys enemies hand vpon him: moued (as it is to bee thought) with despite, to receiue an infamy to that extremitie, called againe his spirits that were passing away, & with his sworde thrust his enemye beeyng vnarmed) thorough the bodye. When he had thus slaine two of his enemies whiche laye dead before him, al the rest stoode amased a far of. Thẽ Alexander, desiring before hys laste breath shoulde fayle to bee killed fightyng, began to rayse vp his body vppon his target: Yet

hys

his strength would not serue him therunto, and therefore reached at a bough that hong ouer his headde, coueting thereby to haue rayſed vp hym ſelf. But his power not ſuffiſing thereunto, he fell downe againe vpon his knees, and bye a ſigne made wyth hys hande, challenged his enemies, if any of thē durſt come and match with him. At the laſt, Peuceſtes repulſing his enemies vppon an other part of the citie, gote into the towne, and coaſting along the walles, came vnto the place where the king was. When Alexander eſpied him, though he hadde no hoape to liue, yet he toke his comming for a comfort to his death, and for al his feblenes begānne to reare vppe him ſelfe. Then came Timeus, and within a while Leonatus, & after them Ariſtonus. When it was once publiſhed amongſt the Indians, that Alexander was entred within the walles, theye left their defence in other places, and came flockyng thither, whereas they fiercelye aſſayled ſuche as ſtoode at defence of the kinges perſone. Timeus, after that hee hadde fought notablye, and receyued many woundes, was there ſlaine. Peuceſtes alſo notwſtanding that he was ſtriken & wounded wᵭ their darts, yet with his target he defēded ẏ

kings

kinges perſon, without any regard of hym ſelfe. And Leonatus, whiles he reſiſted the Indians, that egerly preſſed vpō Alexāder, receiued ſo ſore a ſtripe vpon the necke, that he fell downe in a ſowne at the kings fete. By that time Peuceſtes became ſo feeble of his wounds, that he was not able to defend him any more. The laſt hoape and refuge remayned in Ariſtonus, who alſo was ſo greuouſly woūded, ẏ he could not ēdure any longer the force of the Indians. In the meane ſeaſon the fame was ſpread amōgſt the Macedons, that their kyng was ſlaine: whyche being a matter that ſhoulde haue putte others in feare, ſturred vp theire hartes, and made them the hardier. For from that time forwardes, there was none that had reſpect of his owne perill, but aduentured to the wall, and breakyng down ẏ ſame with pickaxes, entred at the breache, makyng ſlaughter of their enemies, of whom fewe ſtoode at defence, but fledde awaye. There was neuer man nor woman ſpared olde nor young. For theye mette none, but they iudged him to bee the perſone that had hurte their king, and ſo at lengthe with the murder of the multitude theire iuſt ire was ſatiſfied. Clitarchus and Timagenes doe

wryte,

wryte, that Ptholomeus, whych afterwardes became kyng of Egipt was present in thys encountre. But he him self, that vsed not to deny any thing that stoode with hys owne glorye, did put in memorye how that hee was then absent, sent aboute another enterprise. Such a negligence was in them that did wryte the antiquities of thinges, or els an ouermuch credulitie, which is a fault noe lesse then the other. When Alexander was brought into his lodgyng the Surgeons cutte of the stale of the shafte in suche wyse, that theye mooued not the head that was within the flesshe. And when they saw the wounde bare, they perceiued hookes to bee within the arrow head, so that without the destruction of his bodye, it could not bee pulled out, except by incision theye made the wounde greater: And yet in that poynte theye feared leaste aboundaunce of bloude shoulde bee impedyment vnto them. For the head was verye greate, and it seemed to bee entered farre within his body. There was one Critobolus, that was verye cunnynge and moste excellente amongst all the Physitions and Surgeons, and yet in so daungerous a matter as thys, hee was fearefull and in doubte to set to his handes, least

least if any thing should chaunce to the king otherwise then wel, whiles he remayned in this cure, the blame might light vppon hys head. Therefore when Alexander perceiued by his weeppynge the feare hee was in, and that through trouble of minde he loked pale in the face, sayde vnto him. What is it ỹ thou lokest for, or why doest thou stay in ridding of mee quickly out of this paine, at the least waies by deth if thou canst not otherwise bring it to passe? For seeing my wound is vncurable, why dost thou feare that any thing should bee layde vnto thye charge? When Critobolus hard hys words, he eyther ceassed, or dissimuled his feare, & exhorted Alexander that he would suffer himselfe to be holden whiles they pulled out the arrow head that was within his flesh, for the least motion (he saide) might be hurtful vnto him. The king would not be holden, but held his body at a stay without mooving, in such sort as they appointed him. Whē theye had cut the wound wider and pulled oute ỹ head, there issued such aboundance of bloud, that the king fell in a sowne, and a dymme came ouer his sight, he stretched out himself as one in the pangues of death. Then theye wrought al the meanes they could to stanch the bloud: but whē they perceiued it would not auayle, his frendes began to cry out and

lament

lament, thinking verely that there had ben no way but death. Notwstanding at length he ceased his bleeding, and recouerynge agayne his spirites, began to knowe them that stoode about hym. All that daye and the nyght ensuynge, the menne of warre stoode in armes about the kinges lodgyng, confessyng that all their liues depended vpon his breath, and woulde not remoue frō thence, before they vnderstoode that he toke some rest. But when they knewe that hee was fallen a sleape, they returned into the campe, bringing vnto the rest more certeyn hope of his recouery. Alexander about the curyng of his wounde, remayned there vii. dayes: and vnderstanding that a constant fame of his death was spread abroad emōgest the Indians, he caused two Shyppes to be fastened togeether, and a lodging to bee made for hym in the myddest: So that remaynyng vppon the water, hee myght be seene from bothe sydes of the land, of them that thought he hadde bene deade. When the countrey menne by the viewe of hym, perceyued he was on lyue, they tooke away the hope that some hadde conceyued vppon the false report. From thence he passed downe the streame, leauyng a distance be-

swene his shippe, and the rest of the nauye, to the entent that with the beatyng of the oares, they shoulde not disturbe him of hys reste, whiche was necessarye for his weake bodye. The fourth daye after his embarking, he came into a countrey abandoned of the inhabitours, but yet plentifull bothe of corne & cattell, in which place he thought expedient both to rest him selfe, and his souldiours. It was a custome emonges the Macedons, that when their king was diseased, the chiefe Princes, and the great men watched about his lodging: Which maner being then obserued, they entred all together into the chamber where Alexander laye: at whose sodayne commynge he was somewhat amazed, specially because they came all together. He thought they had brought hym some straunge tidynges, and enquired of them if they vnderstoode of any new assemblye of his enemies. Then Craterus whiche was appointed to speake in the behalfe of them all, saied to him after thys maner. Do you thynke that the commynge of anye enemyes coulde make vs so careful (though they were entred wythin your campe) as wee bee of your health & saufegarde, for of all that it is a thynge whyche you reguarde least: Though all

all nacyons conspire agaynste vs wyth theyr power, thoughe the whole worlde were filled full of menne of warre, the Seas ouerspread wyth Shippes, and neuer so manye straunge Beastes brought agaynste vs, it consisteth in the momente of your person to make vs victorers. But howe can anye God promyse, that you, whyche bee the lyght and starre of *Macedonia*, can bee of anye continuaunce: seyng that you bee so desyrous to putt your personne in suche manifest perilles, not remembryng that wyth your death you drawe wyth you into ruyne, the lyues of so many of your countrey menne: What is hee that eyther can, or doth desyre to lyue after you: We are come so farre forth folowyng your Fortune and authoritye, that wythout you, none of vs is able to retourne home agayne. If ye were yet contendyng wyth Darius for the kyngdome of *Perse*, though wee all woulde wyshe that you woulde not aduenture your personne so perilously, yet in that case wee coulde not maruayle so muche at your prompt audacitye: for where the daunger and the benefyte that ensueth thereof is equall, there the frute is the greater, when the matter succedeth well: and the comforte is the more, when the thynge chaunseth euyll. There is no man, not onelye of vs that bee your Souldiours, but euen of suche as were your enemyes, hauyng any vnderstādyng of your greatnesse, that can suffer so base a towne, and of so lyttle fame, bee bought wyth the pryce of your lyfe. My harte shrynkes at the remembraunce of the thynge, whyche wee but late dyd see wyth our eyes. I am amazed to rehearse howe those vyle handes were in a readynesse to haue caryed the spoyles of your inuincible personne, if fortune of her mercye hadde not preserued and deliuered you from theirr crueltie.

So many of vs as were not able to followe you, were all traytours and forsakers of our Prince. And though it were a matter that laye not in our power, yet if it please you to note vs all wyth reproche, there is none that wyll refuse any punishment in the purgacion of the matter. Notwithstãding we would require you that you would spare vs for some other purpose. Wee will gladlye go whether so euer ye wil haue vs: we require warre be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battail, though our fyghting shall want fame, so that you wyll reserue your selfe to those hazardes, which be meete for the greatnesse of your estate. Howe soone doth glorye vanyshe awaye and become of no prayse, emonges suche enemyes as bee of no reputacion? And what thyng is there more vnworthy then to consume the glory ye haue gotten els where emõges them, where as your glory can not appeare? When Craterus hadde tolde hys tale, Ptholome and the other spake to hym in lyke effecte: And requyred hym all at once wyth weeppynge eyes, that hee woulde not from thencefourth bee anye more so thirsty to winne prayse, but seeyng hee hadde got sufficient already, he shoulde content him selfe therewithall and reguarde hys health and safeguarde, whereuppon theire vniuersall estate dyd depende. The kyng toke so gratefullye their louyng affection, that hee familiarlye embraced euerye one of them, and after hee hadde willed them to sitte, repeting more deepelye theire former communicacion, he sayde thus vnto them.

Wyt

My faythfull louyng frendes and countreymen, I geue and render to you my hartye thankes, not onely for that ye preferre my saufegard before your owne, but also for that since the beginning of the warres, ye haue not pretermitted any thing, wher in your loue and beneuolence myght bee shewed towardes mee: so that I must confesse that my lyfe was neuer so deare as it is nowe, because I desire long to enioy you. You be desyrous to offer your selues to death in my quarell, because you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at your handes. But your imagination and myne is not after one sort. You peraduenture do couet continually to enioy mee, and to take of me continuall fruite. And I measure not my selfe by the continuaunce of my tyme, but by the greatnesse of my glorye. I myght haue beene content wyth the ryches my father lefte mee, and wyth rest of my bodye haue looked for wyth the boundes of Macedon, an age obscure and wythout anye fame. And yet I cannot see that they whyche lyue in slouth and idlenesse, can assure them selues of their owne destenye. For euen suche as esteeme felicitie in long lyfe, bee oftentymes preuented wyth sodeyn death. But I whych number not my yeres, but my victories, haue lyued long, if I will waye the gyftes of Fortune. For beginning myne Empire in *Macedonia*, I haue *Greece* in myne owne handes: I haue subdued *Thrace* and the *Illirians*: I reigned ouer the *Tryballes*, and the *Medians*, possessing all *Asia* that lyeth betwixte *Hellespont* and the redd Sea, and nowe am not farre from the ende of the worlde, the whyche I determyned to visite, and to make open to menne a newe nature, and a newe worlde. I passed out of *Asia* into *Europe* in the moment of an houre, and beyng but xxbiij. yeres olde, and hauyng raygned but myne, am become victorer of both Regions. Do you thynke it then meete

that I shoulde nowe cesse from winnyng of that glory, whereunto I haue onelye addict my selfe? No, I will neuer cesse: but whersoeuer I shall haue occasion to fyght, I shall thinke my selfe to bee in the Theater, where the whole worlde doth beholde mee, I will geeue nobilitie and fame to places that bee obscure: And wyll laye open to al nacions those countreys that nature hath remoued furdest from them: In doing wherof it shall bee gratefull for mee to ende my lyfe, if Fortune wyll haue it so. I am come of such a stocke, that I ought to desyre manye thinges before long life. I praye you to remember that we come into those countreyes where the name of a woman is muche celebrated for her vertues. What cities dyd Semiramis buylde? what nacyons dyd shee subdue? and what great woorkes did shee accomplyshe? We are not yet become equall to a woman in glory, and yet you woulde haue mee to be satisfyed of laude. The Goddes bee fauourable vnto our purpose: for there remayne for vs yet greater thinges to doe. And it is the nexte waye to make those countreys whiche we haue not yet touched, to become ours, if wee esteeme nothing to bee of small valure, where as there is anye occasion to wynne glorye. Let it bee your care onelye to preserue mee from ciuyll conspiracie and treason of myne owne people, and then there bee no aduentures in the warre shall put mee in feare. Philip was more sure in the fronte of the battayle abroade, then when he was in quiet at home. He often times auoyded the force of hys enemyes: but he coulde not eschue the violence of his owne subiectes. And if you consider the end of other kings you shall count more that haue ben slayne by their owne menne, then by anye foreyne power. But because there is an occasion nowe offered mee to vtter the thynge I haue long conceiued in my

mynde

mynde: it shalbe the greatest fruite I can receyue of my acts and my trauailes, if my mother Olimpias, when she departeth this lyfe, myght be consecrated to immortalitie. If shee departe in my tyme, I will do the thing my selfe. But if I shall be preuented by death, remember you to perfourm that I haue determined. And thereupon hee dimissed his frendes from him, and continued many daies in the same place. Whiles these thinges were a dooing in *India*, the Greeke souldiours that had land and habitacion appointed thē at *Catabactra*, through a sedicion that chanced emonges them, rebelled against hym: Not so muche for anye hatred they bare him, as for feare of punishment. For they killed dyuers of their chiefe rulers: and assemblyng in force togethers, tooke the Castle of *Bactria*, that was negligentlye kept, and procured the Bactriās to rebell wyth them. Athenodorus was the chiefe emonges them, who tooke vpon him the name of a kyng, not so muche for the desyre of the kyngdome, as by authoritie to make him selfe of power to conueye him selfe and others home into his coūtrey. But one Bicon of hys own nacion became hys enemye, and conspyringe agaynste him, dyd bydde hym to a banquet, where he was slayne by one Borus Macerianus.

Mm.iij. The

The next daye folowing, Bicon assembled the Greekes together, perswadinge them that he slew Athenodorus but in his owne defence, whose purpose was to haue destroyed him. But there were some that perceiued his policye: and suspicion was spread amonges the rest: So that the Greekes fell to arms of purpose to slea Bicon. But such as were chiefe, mitigated the wrathe of the multitude, and contrarye to his expectation was deliuered from that present perill. Yet he coulde not be so contented, but within a while after conspired against them that saued hys lyfe, whose falshode knowen, they toke both him and Borus, determynynge that Borus shoulde be put to deathe out of hande, and that Bicon should ende his lyfe by tormentes. As they were tormenting of him, the Greeke souldiours sodainely in a fury (for what cause it is vncertaine) ranne to armes, the noyse of whom beinge harde with them that hadde the charge of Bicon, dyd let hym at lybertye, fearinge that the rumour hadde beene made for hys deliuery. He as he was naked came runnynge amonges the Greekes, where as they were assembled: Whose myserable estate so sodaynelye so chaunged theyre myndes, that

they

they wylled him immediatly to be set at lybertye. By this meanes Bicon being twise deliuered from deathe, retourned into his countrey with the Greekes, leauynge the colonye whereunto he was appoynted by Alexander. These thinges were done in the confynes of *Bactria & Scithia*. In the meane season the kinge of the two nacions whych we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadours vnto Alexander, whiche beinge menne of personages, ridde in waggons semely apparayled, hauinge garmentes of linnen cloth embrodred with golde and empaled with purple. They declared that the cause of their comminge was to yelde them selues, their citie, their countrey, and theire libertye (whiche they had kept inuiolatelye by so manye ages) to his wyll and appoyntment. Of which their submission, the Gods (they sayed) were authours, and not anye feare: for they were contented to yealde them selues before they hadde proued their power with him. The kinge called a counsell, and receyued them vnder hys protection, appoyntinge to them to paye suche tribute as they before payed to the Arachosyans. And besydes to sende two thousande fyue hundred horsemenne to serue hym in hys

his warres : all whiche thinges they perfourmed obediently. This done he made a great feaſt, wherunto he inuited thoſe Embaſſadours, and his lordes. He vſed therein ſumptuous preparation, ordeining a hundred beddes of golde to eat vpon: which being ſet a ſmall diſtaunce one from another, were drawen about with curtaynes garniſhed with golde and purple. In that feaſt there was ſhewed and ſett fourth all the exceſſe and voluptuouſnes, whiche either by long cuſtome was vſed emong the Perſians, or by corruption of their olde vſages taken vp emonges the Macedons: the vyces of bothe thoſe nacions being there mingled and mixed togethers. There was at that feaſt one Diorippus of *Athens*, a notable champion, by reaſon of his excellent force well knowen vnto the king, whome certeine enuious and malicious perſonnes, betwixt earneſt and paſtyme dyd reproue, that he was geuen to fatt his bodye as an vnprofitable beaſt: And when that other went to the battaile, he woulde anoynt his bodye wyth oyle, and prepare hym ſelfe to eate. Emonges other that vſed woordes of deſpyte againſt hym, there was at ỹ ſame feaſt one Horatas a Macedon, who in his pron-

dronkennesse challenged Diorippus, that if he were a man, he shoulde fyght ỳ campe with him the nexte daye vpon life and death, where as the king shoulde iudge either him to be rashe, or thother to muche a dastarde. Diorippus then laughynge to skorne the pryde and arrogancye of the souldiour, accepted his proffer. The nexte daye they were more earnest to go to the combatte, then they were before in making of ỳ challenge: therefore when the king sawe them so bent, and that they would not leaue their purpose, he consented to their will. There were greate numbers of men assembled at the combate, emonges whome there were many Grecians, which fauoured Diorippꝰ parte. The Macedon came into the Listes armed at all peeces, holding in his left hãde an Iron buckler and a speare, and in hys ryght hande a castynge launce, and hauing hys sworde besides gyrte to hys syde, was furnyshed as though he should haue foughte wyth manye menne at once. Diorippus came forth annoynted with oyle, wyth a garlande vppon his heade, and hauynge a redd cloth wrapte about his left arme, held in his right hand a greate knottye cudgell. The diuersitie of their furnishmẽts brought

cuery

euery man in a wonderfull erpectation. For they coulde not thinke it only a rashe-nesse, but a madnesse for Diorippus that was naked, to matche with the other that was armed. The Macedon thinking to kill hys aduersary before they shoulde come to hande stripes, threwe at him his Launce, whiche Diorippus auoyded with bendyng of hys bodye, & before that he coulde charge his pyke he leaped to him, and with his cut-gell brake the same a sonder. When the Macedon had lost both his weapons, he be-ganne to drawe his sworde: but Diorippus preuented him with a cloase, & taking both his feete from vnder him, threw him to the earth, and there plucking his sworde from hym, set his foote vpon his necke, and helde vp his cudgel to haue strikē out his braines if the kyng had not caused him to staye hys hande. This tryumph ended with displea-sure both vnto the Macedons, & vnto Alex-ander him selfe: specially because this thing was done in the Indians presence: fearing lest the valyauntnesse of the Macedons, fa-med so muche in the worlde, might thereby come into contempt. Herupon Alexander grudging at Diorippus, bare his eares opē to the accusation of the enuious. They wīn

a few

a fewe dayes after had caused a golden cup to be purposely conueyed out of the waye: which ỹ ministers hauyng imbeseled, made complaint vnto Alexander of the losse therof. Oft tymes men shewe lesse constancy in countenaunce, then in the offence it selfe. For in their complaynt Diorippus perceyued by their lookes, that they noted hym as the chiefe, which he coulde not endure, but partyng out of the feast (after hee had written a letter to the kyng) he killed him selfe. Alexander was verye sorye for his deathe: which he tooke for no token of repentance, but rather of indignacion. For afterwards it appeared through the ouermuch reioising of his enemies, that he had beene falsly accused. The Embassadours of the Indians that were dimissed home, wythin a fewe dayes after retourned agayne, presentyng vnto Alexander CCC. horses, a thousande & thirtye wagons, euery one drawen with iiii. horses, certeyn vesture of lynnen cloth, a M. Indian targets, and one C. talents of whyte Iron, both Lyons of a rare bignesse, & Tigres ỹ were made tame, the skinnes of greate Lyzardes, and the shelles of certayne fishes. The kyng then commaunded Craterus to conduct hys armye a long the

ryuer

riuer: wherupon he sayled, & he enbarkinge such as were wont to accompany him, with the streame passed into ỹ bounds of ỹ Mallians, & from thence came vnto the Sabzacans, which was a nacion of great power, not ruled by kinges, but by a gouernement of the people. They had gathered togethers vi. thousande footemen and. vi. thousand horsmen, & v. C. armed wagons, & had chosen three capitaines that were approued men of warre. But when such as inhabited next vnto the riuer (the bankes being full of villages) saw all the riuer so farre as they coulde viewe, ouerspread with shippes, and the armour glistering of so many men of war, they were amased with ỹ straungenes of the syght, and thought that some armye of the Goddes, or els Bacchus (whose name was famous amonges those nacions) had bene come amonges them. The crye of the menne of warre, with the clashynge of the oares, and the straunge noyse of the maryners, erhortynge one another, fylled full theire fearefull eares. They ranne therefore amonges theire countrey menne whiche hadde assembled theire force, declarynge theire madnes yt they woulde contende wyth Goddes. For they sayed the shippes coulde not be numbred, that caryed

those

those inuincible people: with which woꝛdes they put suche feare amonges the menne of warre of theire owne nacion, that they sent immediatlye Embassadours to yelde themselues. When he hadde receiued theire submission, he came the foꝛwerth daye into another countrey, the people whereof durst no moꝛe withstand him, then the reste did: and there he builded a citie which he named *Alexandria*: and frō thence entred into a coūtrey, the inhabitours whereof be called Musicans. There he vnderstode by ẏ accusacīō of the Paromisidans ẏ Desterioles (whom Alexander had appoincted lieuetenaunt amonges them) had ruled in excessyue pꝛyds and couetousnes, and therefoꝛe commaunded him to be put to deathe. And Oriatres lieutenaunt of the Bactrians beinge also accused, was not onely acquyted, but also hadde a greater rule committed vnto hym. When he had subdued the vttermost parts of the musicans, he put a garrison in theire citie, ⁊ went from thence to another nacion of the Indians called Pꝛesttians, of whome Oricanus was kinge, whiche with a great powꝛer got him selfe into a strong city, which Alexander wanne the third day after he began his siege. Vpon the taking of ẏ towne,

Oricanus

Oriteanus fled into the castle, and sent Embassadours to treate of peace. But before they were come to Alexanders presence, two towers of the castle fell with a greate crashe, by the ruines wherof the Macedons gote into the castle, where Oriteanus which with a fewe standing at defence, was slain, the castle being raseo, and all that were within solde as slaues. Alexander came into the boundes of *Saba*, where besydes many holdes that yelded vnto him, he tooke ỹ strongest citie of that coũtrey by force of a mine. It seemed a monstrous thing vnto the Indians, (being ignorant of suche policies of warre) for armed men to come fourth of ỹ grounde in the middes of their citie, whereas there appeared before no signe of anye waye vnder the earth. Clytarchus doth write, that there were foure score thousand Indians slayne in that countrey, besides many prisoners solde as slaues. The Musicans in the meane tyme rebelled, for the oppression of whome Philon was sent thyther: who tooke the prince of the nation prisoner, & brought him to Alexander, whome he caused to be hanged vpon a crosse as the authour of the reuolte, whiche done, retourned againe to the ryuer where as he hadde

willed

willed his nauy to tary for him. The iiij. daye after passing downe the streame, hee came to a towne at the entrye of the kingdome of *Samus*: The kyng whereof hadde newly yelded him selfe, but the citizens dyd shutt their gates and would not be at commaundement: Whose small number Alexander reguarded so litle, that he sent fyue hundred Agrians vnto their gates to proffer them the skyrmishe, to the entent by retyring litle and lytle, they might draw them out of theire strengthe: thinking that they would followe in ỹ chase, when they should see their enemies flying. The Agrians dyd as it was appointed them: for when they had once prouoked their enemies, they turned their backes, and the Indians folowed them, till they came to the embushement, where the king laye. Then the Agrians turned, and the fyght was renued agayne, so that of three thousande Indians, there were fiue hundred slaine, and a thousande taken, the rest recouered again ỹ citie. But the end of the victorie was not so pleasant, as it appeared in the beginning: for ỹ Indians had so enuenomed their swords, that suche as were hurt, died of their woundes. And the Phisitions could not deuise ỹ cause

of so straunge a death: for euen the verye fyght hurtes were vncurable. The Indiās trusted that Alexander thorough his rashenesse might haue come within that daunger, which by chaunce fyghting emonges ẏ thickest, escaped vnhurt. Ptholomeus was lightly wounded vpō his left shoulder: who being in a greater daunger, then the greatnesse of his wounde shewed, caused ẏ kyng to be carefull of him. For he was neare of his kinne, and as some thought Philip was his father: but it is certein that his mother was Philip his concubine. He was one of them that had the charge of the kinges person, a valyant man of warre, and yet more famous in the faculties of peace. Hee was moderate both in his apparaile and liuing: liberall, easy to be spoken to, and wythout any suche height of mynd, as is wont to be in men descended of bloud royal: by reason of whiche qualities, it is vncertein whether he was better beloued with the king, or w̄ the rest of men. That was the fyrst occasion he had to proue howe the myndes of menne were affectionat towardes him: for euen in that daunger the Macedons began to deuine of his fortune, whereunto after wards he ascended. They had no lesse care of Ptolomeus

lomeus, then of the king him self: who vsed hym so familiarly, that when he was weryed eyther with trauayle or care of mynd, woulde sit for his solace with Ptholomeus: and at that tyme caused hys bedde to bee brought into his owne chaumber. When Ptholomeus was laid there, he fel sodainly in a profound sleape, in the whiche it seemed that a Dragon offered to hym an herb out of his mouthe, for the healynge of hys wounde, and taking awaye of the venime. When he awaked, he declared hys dreame, and shewed both the colour and fashion of the herbe, affirming that he could know it, if any man could fynde it out. That fame was sought by so many, that at lēgth it was found, and being put vpon the wounde, the payne streight wates ceased, and the skarre within short space was closed. When the Indians were disapointed of the hoape they had cōceiued that way, they yelded thē selues and their cities. From thence Alexander went into the nexte countrey called *Pathalia*, the king wherof called Moris left the citie and fledd into the mountaines: so that Alexander toke the same, & destroyed all the countrey, fynding both a wonderfull praye of sheepe, of cattail, and of corne.

There he tooke Pilotes that knewe the ri-
uer, and came vnto an Ilande which stoode
in the myddes of the stream, where he was
compelled to remaine the longer, because
the Pilotes being negligently kepte, were
escaped awaye. He sent therefore to seeke
out other: but when he coulde fynde none,
there entered a vehement desyre into hys
head to visite without any guyde the occean
Sea, and the ende of the worlde, commyt-
tyng his owne life, and the lyues of so ma-
ny thousandes, to a ryuer whiche none of
them dyd knowe. They sayled as men ig-
noraunt of all places they came vnto: ey-
ther how farre the Sea was distaunt from
them, what nacions did inhabite the coun-
treis therabouts, or whether the mouth of ỹ
ryuer were nauygable for Gallies or no.
In all these thinges they were ledde by a
blynde and doubtfull imaginacion, hauing
no other comforte in their rashe enterprise,
but onely ỹ they trusted to their continuall
felicitie. When they had gone forwardes
foure hundred furlonges, the shipmasters
tolde the king that they felte the aire of the
sea: whereby they knewe that the Occean
was at hande. Therat he reioysed greatly,
and exhorted ỹ mariners, that they woulde

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in all that they myght, make waye wyth their oares to bring hym to the syght of the ende of the worlde, whiche he hadde so long desyred. Nowe (quod hee) our glorye is perfyte, when our manhoode is suche that nothynge can staye vs: Nowe the worlde is come into our handes without any further hazarde of warre or sheding of blood. Nowe since the bounds that nature hath wrought be so neare at hand, we shall shortly see thinges vnknowen sauyng to the immortall Goddes. Yet notwithstandyng hee set certeine vpon lande to take some of the countrey men, by whome he trusted to haue knowen more certeintie of the truth. Whē they searched out their cottages, at length they founde out certaine that were hidden: Whiche being demaunded howe farre the Sea was from them, they made aunswere that they neuer heard it named, but they saide that within three dayes saylinge they shoulde come vnto a place, where as a brackishe water did corrupt ỹ freshe: By which wordes the mariners vnderstood that they ment the Sea, of the nature whereof the people were ignorant. Then the mariners rowed cheerefullye: theire desyre growing euer the greater, as they approched neere vnto the place, whiche they hoaped to be the ende of their trauayle. The third day they

came where the sea and the ryuer ioyned together, mixinge wyth a smalle flood their waters that were of a contrarye nature. Then because the tyde was somewhat against them, they haled towardes another Iland standinge in the myddes of the ryuer, whiche beinge an easye place to lande at, the Macedones ranne aboute to seeke victuals, in suertie (as they thought) beinge ignorant of the chaunce that came vppon them. The thyrde houer accordinge to the ordinarye course, the tyde came from the Sea, and with his force did driue the streme backewarde, whiche at the fyrst beinge but stayed, was afterwardes so vehemently repulsed, that it caused the water to returne backewarde wyth greater furye then anye swyfte streame is wonte to runne. The common sorte that knewe not the nature of the *Occean*, thought the same to be a wonderfull matter, and that it had bene a token sent to them for the Goddes wrathe: and whiles they were in that imagination, the Sea swellynge more and more, ouerflowed the lande whyche they sawe before drye: and as the water roase, the shyppes mounted, and all the nauye was dysperkled here and there. Suche as were vppon

land

lande were amased with the sodeinenes of the thinge, & ran from all partes in great feare vnto theire shyppes. But in a tumult haste doth hurte, and geeueth impediment. Some there were that went about to sette their shippes forwardes: other forbad rowing & remoued not at al. Otherwhiles they made haste away, and woulde not tarye to take in their company, moued vnaptly, and could make no way. Some, when they saw them preste a shipbord in such thronges, for feare of takinge in to many, would receiue none at all: So that both multitude & small numbre, was a let vnto the hast they made. The crye that some made in biddinge men tarye, & the noyse that other made willinge them to goe forwardes, with theire voyces that differed, and agreed not in one effecte, toke awaye the vse both of theire syght and hearinge. The mariners could not help the matter, whose wordes in the tumult coulde not be harde, nor their commaundementes obserued amonges men in feare and out of order. The shippes therefore dashed one agaynste another, the Dares crashed a sunder, and euerye shype eyther thruste forwardes, or put backe another. No manne woulde haue iudged it to be one Fayre,

but rather two sundrye fyghting a battayl togethe vppon the Sea. The prores dyd strike against the puppes: such as went before troubled them that came after, and the woordes of menne in their wrath came vnto strypes. By that tyme the fludde had ouerflowen all the plaines theraboutes, so that nothyng appeared aboue the water sauing the hilles, which seamed lyke litle Ilandes, wherunto many did swimme and left their shippes for feare. Whyles the nauye thus dysparkled abrode, partely stoode a floote, when they happened in any valley, & partlye sticked vpon the grounde, if they dyd hit vpon the flattes, according to the grounde which was ouerflowē: sodeinly there came another terrour greater then the first. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe againe into his wonted course, wyth so great violence, as it came forwardes and restored the syght of the lande, whyche before was drowned as in a deepe Sea. The shippes then forsaken of the water fell vpō their sydes, and the fieldes were strowen wyth broken boordes and wyth peeces of Dares. The souldiers durst not go foorth to lande, and yet were in doubt to tarrye a shipboorde looking euer for some greater

mischief

mischieke to come, then that they sawe present or paste. They coulde scarcely beleue that they sawe and suffered, whiche was shipwracke vpon the land, & the Sea within a ryuer. And thought no ende could come of this mischieke: for they knewe not that the fludde shoulde shortly retourne agayn, and set their shippes aflote. And therefore they imagined to them selues famine and all extremities. The monsters also of the Sea, whyche after the water was paste, were lefte on drye lande, put them in great feare. The nyght approched, and dyspayre brought the king into a greate agonye. Yet no care coulde so ouercome hys harte that was inuincible, but that he watched all nyght, and sent horsemen to the mouth of the Ryuer, to bring him woord when the tyde came. He caused two ships that were broken to bee amended, and suche as were ouerwhelmed, to be hoysed vp agayn, warnyng all menne to lye in wayte and bee in redinesse againste the water should aryse. When hee had consumed all that nyght in watching, and geuing exhortacion to hys men, streight wayes the horsemen retourned a mayne gallop, and the flud folowed them: which mylde encreasyng, began to

raise

raise againe their shippes, & when it hadde once ouerflowen the banks, the whole nauye began to moue. Then all the coaste reboundeb with the vnmeasurable reioicing that the souldiours and mariners made for their safegard, wherof they were before in despaire. When they saw the danger past, they enquired with wonder one of another, by what reason the sea coulde so soone after that maner ebbe and flowe, and debated ỹ nature of that element, which one while disagreed, and another while was obedient & subiect to ỹ tyme. The king coniecturing by the signes he had seene before, that after the sonne rysing the tyde would serue hys purpose to preuent the matter, at midnight wyth a fewe shippes he fleeted downe the streame, and passing out at the mouth of ỹ ryuer, entred foure hundred furlonges into the sea, where attcyning the thyng that he desyred, made sacrifice to the Goddes of the Sea, which were worshipped in those countreyes, & returned againe vnto his nauye. From thence ỹ nert day he retourned backwardes agaynste the streame, and arryued at a salt lake, the nature wherof beyng vnknowen, disceiued many that rashly entered into the water: for their bodyes by &

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by became full of scabbes, which disease taken by some, the contagion therof infected many other. But they found that oile was a remedy for the same. Alexander lying still with his armie, waiting for the spring time of the yere, sent Leonatus before by ỹ land way where he thought to passe, for to digg welles, because the countrey was very dry and destitute of water. In the meane season he buylded many Cities, and cõmaunded Nearchus and Onesicritus (that were moste experte of nauall thinges) wyth hys strongest shippes to passe into the *Occean*, and to go so farre forwardes as they might wyth saretye, for to vnderstande the nature of the Sea: and willed them at their returne to lande eyther within that Ryuer, or els wythin *Euphrates*. When the winter was well passed, he burned those shippes which hee occupied not, and conueied his armys by lande. After ix. encampinges, he came into the countrey of the Arabitans, & from thence in nyne dayes came emonges ỹ Gedrosians: which being a free nacyon, by a generall counsayle hadde emonges them, yelded them selues: of whõ there was not any thing demaunded, sauing onely victuals. The v. day he came vnto a riuer which

the

the countrey men call *Barabon* beyonde the which there laye a barrain countrey greatly destitute of water, through the whiche he passed, and entred emonges the Horitans. There he betooke the greater parte of hys army to Ephestion, and parted his souldiours that were lyght armed with Ptholomeus & Leonatus, & so wasted the coũtrey with three armies at once, and tooke great praies. Ptholomeus burned towardes the Sea, Leonatus vpon the other hande, and Alexander him selfe in the myddes. In that countrey he buylded also a citie, & brought men out of *Arrachosia* to inhabite it. From thence he came emonges ỹ Indians, which lying vpõ the Sea coast, do inhabite a great countrey, that is waste & desert. They vse no traffike, entercourse, nor conuersation with any of their neyghbours: but the desertnesse of their countrey made them sauage, beyng wylde of their owne nature. They ware long nayles, whiche they neuer cutt, and long heare, that was neuer clipped. They made their howses of the shelles of Fishes, and of other thinges that the Sea cast vp: And being clad wyth the skynnes of wylde beastes, eate fishe dryed wyth the Sunne, and fedde vppon suche mon-

monsterous fishes as the Sea cast vppon the lande. Here the Macedons consumed their victualles, and firste endured scarcitie, and afterwardes extreme hunger, searchyng out in euerye place the rootes of the Palmes whiche is the onelye tree that groweth in that countrey. But whē that kinde of nourishement fayled them, they kylled theire cariage beastes, and abstained not from their horses: whereby lackyng beastes to beare their baggage they were enforced to consume with fyre ȳ spoiles of their enemies, whiche hadde caused them to trauaile into the vttermost boundes of the *Orient*. consequences & ronnishons of warre

After their famine folowed a pestilence: for the vnacustomed nourishement of the vnholsome meates they did eat, wyth the trauayle of their iourney and the care of mynd spread diseases emonges them, in such sorte that they coulde neyther continue in a place nor yet go forwardes wythout great destruction. Hunger oppressed them when they taryed: and the Pestilence was more vehement euer as they went forwardes. The fieldes therefore were strowen full of menne that were halfe dead, and halfe aliue. And suche as were but smallye sicke, were not able to followe tharmye: it marched

ched wyth suche speede: For euery manne thought to further so muche his owne safe-guarde, as by makyng hast he could get be-fore hys fellowes. Suche as fainted and coulde not followe, desired bothe suche as they knewe and knewe not, to helpe them forwardes. But they had no beastes wher-upon to sett them: and the souldiours could scarsly beare their owne armour, whyche had the imminent mischiefe that fell vppon other menne, represented before their owne eyes. Wherfore, when they were called vp-pon, they woulde not vouchsaufe once to looke backe: feare hadde so taken away all compassion from them. Then they whiche were lefte behynde, cryed vpon the goddes and their king for helpe, alleging that they were all of one religion, which was a band for one to releue another. But when they had cryed long in vayne vnto theire deafe eares, through desperation they raged, wis-shyng the like ende to their frendes & com-paignions, that they themselues endured. The king troubled both with sorowe and with shame because he, and none els should bee the cause of so greate destruction of hys men, dyd write to Phrataphernes ruler of the Parthenians to sende to him vppõ Ca-

melles

melles, victualles in redinesse to be eaten, & certified the princes of the countreys therabout of his necessitie, whiche did not slacke the tyme, but made prouision accordynge to his will. Thus his armye deliuered onelye from famine, was brought within ỳ bouds of the Gedrosians: And for asmuche as the same was a countrey fertill of all thinges, he thought good to staye there awhile with rest to recouer agayne his feeble souldiers. There he receyued letters from Leonatus, howe he had wonne the victory of the Horitans, whyche encountred him with viij. thousand footemen, & v. hundred horsemen: & was aduertised also from Craterus, how he hadde taken and putt in holde Ozines & Zariaspes noble menne of *Perse*, that went about to rebell. Alexander also vnderstanding that Memnon was dead, gaue the charge of the countrey, whereof he had the rule, vnto Stiburtius, & afterwardes went into *Carmania*. Aspastes was gouernour of that nation: who beeyng suspected of innouacion, whyles Alexander was in *India*, mette hym on hys waye. But hee dissimulynge hys yre, entertayned hym gently, and dyd to him his accustomed honour, till suche time as he had better proofe

of

of the matter, which was layd against him. When the princes of *India* had, accordynge to his appointment, sent out of all countreys vnder his Empire, great plentye of horse and other beastes, bothe of cariage & of draught, he gaue cariage again to all mē that wanted, and restored their armour to the former brightfulnesse, and excellencye. For they were come into a countrey joyning vpon *Perse*, whiche both was habowndaunt of all thinges, and also quietly established vnder his subiection. He thought it then a tyme to counterfeyt Bacchus in the glorye and fame, whiche he gott emonges those nacions. Whither it were a tryumph that Bacchus fyrst instituted, or a pastyme of him vsed in dronkennesse. Alexāder was determined to counterfeit his doinges, hauing his mynde puffed vp aboue mannes estate. He commaunded therefore all the villages throughout the whiche he shoulde passe, to be strowen with flowers and garlandes, and wyne to bee sett fourthe before euery mans doare, for all men that would drink. He caused wagons also to be made of largenes, able to cary great nūbers: & decking ỹ same w̄ precious furnimētes ỹ king went formost w̄ his frendes, & next to them his

his guard, wearing vpon their heades garlands of flowers, som playing vpon fluits, and som vpon harpes: Euery one generaly through charmye decked his chariot according to his habilitie, and substance, whereas they geuen to banketting, did hange theire riche armour besides them. Alexander with suche as he called to his company, was caried in a charyot laden with cuppes of gold, & other golden vessel: he with his dronken armye, marched thus. vij. dayes together in ostentacion of the praye they hadde gotten: Wherein they shewed suche dissolutenes, that if one. M. of the subdued people durst, duringe that time haue geuen them the onset, they might haue taken them prisoners, and led them awaye in triumphe. But fortune whiche hath appointed both fame and estimacion to thinges, turned all this disorder vnto his glory. For both the age ý was then, and the posteritie ý came after, merueiled, and tooke it for a wonder, ý he durst go so dissolutelye amonges those nacions, not yet established vnder his Empyre, the barbarous people reputinge his rashenes, for an assured confidence. But sheddinge of bloude ensued after thys tryumphe. For prince Aspastis (spoken of before) was com-

maunded to be put to deathe: so ỹ his excesse in voluptuousnes was no let vnto his cruel tie, nor crueltie impediment to his voluptuousnes.

¶ The tenth booke of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of Alexander the great, kyng of Macedon.

ABout the same time, Cleander, Sitalces, Agathon, & Heracon, which by the kings appoyntment had put Parmenio to death, returned to him bringing with thē. v. M. footemen & a thousand horsemen. There were many accusers ỹ followed thē out of the prouince, whereof they had the gouernance: Whose behauour there was suche, that the acceptable seruice they had don to Alexander in killing of Parmenio, could be no satisfaction for the multitude of the offences theye had committed. They vsed such an vniuersall spoile, not abstayning from the temples, nor from sacred thinges. The virgins also & great ladies of the countrey, whom they had rauished, complayned of them: lamenting the shame they had susteyned. They vsed such couetousnes

and

and inordinate lust in their authoritie, that it caused the name of the Macedons to be hated amongst those nacions. And yet amongst all the rest, Cleanders offeee was most horrible, whiche rauishing a virgyn of noble blonde, gaue her to hys slaue to vse as hys Concubyne. The more part of Alexanders frendes weare not so muche offended wyth theire crueltye and foule actes (whereof theye weare accused) as with the remembraunce of Parmenio hys deathe, whyche they kepte in silence, leaste the rehearsall thereof, myghte haue procured them fauour with the king: reioysyng that the kynges wrath was fallen vppon the ministers of hys yre, and that noe power nor authoritye gotten by euell meanes, coulde haue anye long continuaunce. Alexander hearyng the cause, sayde that thaccusers ouerslipte the greatest offence, whyche was the dyspaire of his saueguarde. For if theye hadde eyther hoaped or beleeued that he should euer haue returned oute of *India*, theye durst neuer (hee sayde) haue commytted any suche offences. Hee cõmaunded them therefore to prison, & put. vi. hundred souldiers to death, y^t had been the ministers of theire crueltye: & they also were executed y same day, whiche

Craterus had brought as authors of the rebellion out of *Persie*. Within a while after Nearchus & Onesicritus, whiche had beene commaunded by the kyng to search the Oceã sea, returning vnto him, declaring som thinges by knowlege, and some by reporte: They shewed him of an Iland not far from the mouth of *Indus*, which habounded with golde, and had no breede of horses amongst them: wherefore the inhabitors would geue a talent of golde for euery horse brought frõ the mayne lande. They also tolde of greate monsterous fishes (wherof those seas were full) which caried downe wt the tide, would shew their bodies aboue the water, as byg as a great ship, and follow their nauy wyth a terrible noyse. And when they dyued vnderneath the water, they troubled the seas, as it had been in a shipwracke. These were things they had seen: the rest they had receiued by report of thinhabitours: as how that ỹ red sea tooke his name of king Erithrus, and not of the colour of the water. Theye shewed also of another Iland not far from the mayn land growing ful of palme trees, where was a great wood, and in the mydst thereof stoode a pyller where as kyng Erithrus was buried, with inscription of suche

letters

letters as be vsed in the countrey. They added besides, that suche mariners as caried ỹ merchauntes, and the drudges of tharmye, through couetousnes of the gold, which had beene reported vnto them, landed in the Ilande, and were neuer seene after. Theire wordes moued Alexander much, & put hym in a great desire, to get more certain knowledge of those parties: and therfore he commaunded them againe to the Sea, willyng that they should coast the land, til they came within the Riuer of *Euphrates*, & from thẽce to come vp to *Babilon* againste the streame. The thigs were infinit ỹ he cõpassed in his hed, for he determined after he had brought ỹ Seacoast of ỹ Orient vnder his subiectiõ, to go out of *Siria* into *Aphricke*, for ỹ enuye he bare to the *Carthagens*: He purposed from thence to passe ouer the desertes of *Numidia* towardes *Gades*, where hee vnderstoode by the fame, ỹ Hercules had planted hys pyllers: and so directing his iourney throughe Spayne (the which the Greekes of the Riuer *Iberus* call *Iberia*) to goe ouer ỹ *Alpes*, & so into *Italy*, till he should come to ỹ coast wher ỹ nert passage was vnto *Epyrus*. For this intent he gaue commaundement to his

Do, ly. officers

officers in *Mesopotamia*, that they should cut downe timber in the mount *Libanus*, & conuey the same to *Capsagas* a city in *Siria*. And there to make galleis of such greatnes, that eucry one of them might be able to cary.vi. oares vpon a bank, & from thence he willed them to be conueyed vnto *Babilon*. He sente commaundement to the kinges of *Cypres*, to furnish them of Iron, hemp, & sailes. Whiles these things were in dooing, he receiued letters from Pozus, & Tariles, signifying ỹ Abiazares was dead of a disease, and that Philip his lieutenant in those parties was slaine, and they put to deathe that were the doers therof. Alexander in the place of Philyp appointed Eudemon that was captain of the Thracians, & gaue Abiazares kingdome vnto his sonne. From thence he came to *Pasargades* a countreye of the Persians, whereof Ozines was Lord: which both in nobilitie and riches, exceeded all other men in those parties, as one that conueyed hys pedigree from Cirus, that sometime was king of *Persie*. The riches his predecessours left him was great: and hee by a long continuaunce in his enheritaunce and authority, had muche encreased the same. He mette Alexander comming thetherwards, and presented

sented both him, and his frendes with gifts of sundry sortes, which were a multitude of horses, ready to be ridden vpon, Chariottes wrought with golde and siluer, precious stuffe, excellent pearles and precious stones, weighty vessels of golde, roabes of purple, and .liij. M. talentes of coyned siluer: But that his liberalitie was occasion of his deth. For when hee hadde presented al the kings frendes with giftes aboue theire desire, hee honoured not with any giftes at all Bagoas the Eunuch, whom Alexander specially fauoured for the vsage hee hadde of hym. There were therfore that gaue him admonicion how much Alexander esteemed Bagoas, but hee answered them, that hys custome was to honoure the kinges frendes and noe harlottes: For that it was not the Persians maner to haue anye in estimacion, whiche did effeminate them selues with so shamful an abuse. Whē his woordes were reported to the Eunuche, he vsed the power whiche hee had gotten wᵭ dishonest meanes, to the destruction of that noble and innocent man. For hee did suborne certaine lewd persons of Orsines coū trey, to bryng in false accusacions agaynste hym, whiche hee willed them to present at suche time as hee shoulde appoint vnto thē. In ỹ meane seasō, whensoeuer Bagoas got

the king alone, hee would fill hys credulous eares with tales against Orsines, euer dissimuling the cause of his displeasure, leaste therby hee might lose the credit of his false report. The king hadde not Orsines yet in suspect of such matter as afterwardes was laide against him: but he beganne to growe with him out of estimacion. His accusacyon was euer so secret, that he could neuer get knowledge of the perill that was pryuely wrought against him. That importunate harlot, in his vile conuersacion had with the king, was mindefull euer of the malice hee bare to Orsines, whom he would not cease to bring in suspicion of couetousnes, or of rebellion, so oft as he saw Alexander bents to vse him familiarly. By that time the false accusacions were in redines, which hee had prepared to the destruction of the innocent: whose fatall desteny that did approch, could not be auoyded. It chaunced that Alexander caused the tombe wherein Cirus his bodye was buried, to be opened, pretending to vse certaine ceremonies for the dead: But thinking in very deede ỹ his tombe had been ful of gold and siluer, wherof there was a constaunt fame amongst ỹ Persians. But whē it was viewed, there was nothing foūd, but

a rotten

a rotten target, two Scithian bowes, and a sweord. Alexander caused the coffyn wherin Cirus body was layd, to be couered with ỹ garment he accustomed to weare, & set ther upon a crowne of golde, marueiling ỹ there was no more sumptuousnes vsed in buryall of such a king, endued with so great riches, lying there but after the cõmon sort of men. When this thing was in dooing, Bagoas stoode nerte vnto Alexander, whoe behelde him in the face and sayde: What maruelle is it though the sepulchres of kinges be emptye, when Lordes houses be not able to receiue the gold they haue taken out from thence? For my part I neuer saw this tombe before: but I haue heard Darius report, that there were three thousand talents buried with Cirus. Therof (quod he) proceded Orsines liberalitie in winning your fauour by ỹ gifte of the thynge, whiche he knew he could not keepe. When he had thus sturred vp Alexanders wrath against Orsines, he presented them, whom hee had suborned to accuse him: By whose report, and by Bagoas surmised tales, Alexander was so incensed against Orsines, that he was put in prison, before hee coulde suspect ỹ hee was accused. The Eunuche was not contented with the destruction of this innocent man, but at his deathe layde violent handes vpon him: Vnto whõ Orsines sayde: I haue hearde that women

in times past haue reigned, and born great rule in *Asia*: but it is now a more straunge thyng, that a geldyng should haue the Empire in his handes. Thys was the ende of the most noble man amongst the Persians, who was not only an innocent in this matter, but suche one as bare singuler affection vnto Alexander, and had shewed greate liberalitie to him and his. At the same tyme Phradates, whiche was suspected to haue gone about to make him self kyng, was put to death. Alexander began then to be muche enclyned to the sheading of bloud, and to be credulous in hearyng of euyll report: prosperitie is of such a force to chaunge a mans nature, wherein fewe men haue consideracion of vertue. Thus he which a litle before would not condempne Lincestes Alexãder, when hee was accused by twoe wytnesses: y suffred diuers of more meane estate to be acquyted, though it grudged hys mynde, because theye seemed not gylty to other men: And hee whyche bestowed kyngdomes vpon hys enemyes, whom hee hadde subdued, was in the ende so muche altered from hys former inclynacion, that agaynste hys owne appetite, at the wyll of an harlot, hee woulde geeue kyngdomes to some, and take

take awaye the lyues from other. About the same tyme hee receiued letters of things doone in *Europe*, whereby hee vnderstoode that whiles he was in *India*, Zopirtus his lieutenaunt in *Thrace* made a iourneye against the *Getes*, where by stormes and tempestes that sodainly rose vpon him, he was destroyed and all his army. When Seuthe-sodryzas vnderstoode the defeate of that armye, hee procured the Odrisians that were his countrey mẽ to reuolt: So that al *Thrace* was in maner lost thereby, and *Greece* stode in no great suertye. The wryters of the actes of great Alexander, make mencion in this place of Calanus an Indian, that was verye famous in Philosophye, which by the perswasion of kyng Tarikes followed Alexander, and ended his lyfe after a straunge sort. When hee hadde liued three score and xiij. yeares withoute anye disease, at hys comming into *Persia*, hee felt a paine in hys belye, whereby coniecturing that the end of his life was come, leaste suche a perpetuall felicitie as he had liued in, should be spotted with any long disease, or tormented with ỹ multitude of medicines, whiche Phisicions vse to minister, requyred Alexander that hee myghte cause a fyer to bee made, and to

burne

burne him selfe in the same. The king begā to dissuade him from his purpose, thinkyng to haue brought him frō the doing of so horrible an acte: but when hee perceiued wyth what stedfastnes & constācy he stoode in his entent, and that there was no way to kepe him any longer in life, he suffred a fyer to be made according to his will, wherinto Calanus did ride on horsebacke, making firſt his prayer to the goddes of his countrey: and taking the Macedons by the handes, required them ẏ they would spend that day pleasantlye in banqueting with theire king, whom wīn a while he should see at *Babilon*. When he had spoken those wordes, he went merely into ẏ fyer, wher asplying his body comly, kept stil the same gesture & coūtenaunce at his deth, which he was wōt to vse. Whē the fyer flamed the trumpettes blewe, the men of warre making such a shout, as they accustomed going to the battaile, which rebounded vp to the sky, & the Elephantes also made a terrible noise. These be the thinges that sage writers do testifie of Calanus whiche was a notable ensample of an inuincible mind, constantly bent to suffer any aduersitie. From thence Alexander wente vnto *Susa*, where as he toke to wife, & lawfullye

fully maried *Statira* Darij eldest daughter Whose yonger sister called *Dripetis* he gaue to wife vnto Ephestiõ And bestowed to the number of.lxxx. virgins of the noblest of all the nacions he had conquered, to the principall Macedons & to the chiefest of his frẽds, because he would not seeme alone to begyn so straũge a custom. These mariages were celebrate after ỹ Persian manner, & a princely feast prepared at the espousails: Wher at there were.lx.M. geastes, to euery one of whom Alexander gaue a drinking cuppe of golde: At the same time the rulers of the cyties, which Alexander had subdued & buylded, sent vnto him.xxx.M. yong souldiers ỹ were al of one age, furnished with faire armour apt to do any enterprise of the warre, which hee called *Epygony* that is to say hys successors. The Macedons at theire cõming semed to be somewhat appalled, which wearied with long war, vsed often in assemblies to murmur and speake mutinus wordes against the king. For that cause he had prepared these souldiers to restreine the arrogancy of other, and gaue to thẽ great benefyts. Harpalus, to whom the kyng had commyted the charge of the treasure, and reuenues at *Babilon*, hearing of the actes ỹ Alexãder had

had done in subduinge the moze part of the kinges of *India*, and his succesſe to be so pzo-sperous, that nothinge coulde withstande him: knowinge the vnsatiable desyre that was in Alexander to visite farre countreys and to encrease his glozy, thought it should be a harde matter foz him to returne to *Babilon* againe. Wherefoze he gaue him selfe to delyte and to lust, misusinge manye that were noble and free women, and wallowed in all kynde of voluptuousnes: In so muche that he sent vnto *Athens* foz a famous harlotte called Potonice, to whom he bothe gaue manye great & pzincely giftes whiles she was aliue, and also after her deathe spēt xxx. talentes vppon her tombe. Yainge in these and suche other like voluptuous vanities consumed a great part of the treasure, when he vnderstode Alexander to be come out of *India*, and to vse extreme iustice vpon his officers, that misused them, of whome they had rule (by reasō he was pziuy to his lowle conscience) he feared the lyke myght come to him selfe: And therfoze gatheringe together v.M. talents. and. vi. M. mercenary souldiers, tooke ẏ waye towardes *Athens*, no manne willing to receiue him by ẏ way. When he came to *Tenaron* (wheras a great

numbze

numbre of the mercenary Greekes, whiche had bene discharged out of *Asia* wer assembled) he left his souldiers there, and went to *Athens* with his money: when he was comthether, great number of the citizens flocked about him, more for love of his money, then for his owne sake: but specially the Orators, and suche as used to make theire game by oracions, & perswadinge of ỹ people: whom by small rewardes he easely corrupted to defend his cause with the people. But afterwardes at a generall assemblye vpon ỹ matter, he was cõmaũded to depart ỹ citie, and so returned againe amonges the Greeke souldiers, by whom he was slaine. Therefore with .xxx. ships they passed ouer to *Sunium*, which is a point of the land in ỹ territorie of *Athens*, from whence they determined to haue entred into *Athens* hauẽ. These things being knowen, Alexander ỹ was sore moued aswel against ỹ Athenias as against Harpalus, prepared a navye to make war in persõ imediately against thẽ. And as he was busied aboute ỹ matter, he vnderstode by secret letters, how both Harpalus had bene in *Athens*, & corrupted with money the chief of the citie: And also howe ỹ afterwardes by a councell of the people,

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he was commaunded to depart from thẽce, who returning amongst the Greeke souldiours, was slaine by one of them by treason. These newes greatly reioyced Alexander, wherby he had occasion to leaue of his iourney into *Europe*: but he sent commaũdemẽt to all the cities of *Greece*, that they should receiue againe al their banished men, excepte such onely as had committed anye murther vpon their owne countrey men. Although the Greekes knew the same to be the breach of their liberties, & their lawes, & the beginning of their bondage, yet as mẽ that durst not disobey his will, they called home their banished men, & restored to thẽ such of their goods as did remaine. Onely the Athenãs, which euer defended obstinately the lyberties of their cõmon wealth, & which had not been accustomed to liue vnder the obedience of any king, but vnder the lawes & customs of their countrey, would not agree, ỹ suche dregde of men should liue amongst thẽ, but did driue thẽ out of their boundes, readye to suffer any thing rather then to receiue such, as some time were the rascal of al theire cytie, and then the refuse of all the outlawes. The time was come that Alexander mynded to dimisse his olde souldiers, & sende thẽ into

into their countrey: but he willed firſte. xiij. M. footemen & .ij. M. horſemen to bee choſen out to remaine ſtil in *Aſia*, which he iudged might be kept with a ſmall armye, becauſe (he thought) the guarriſons he had planted in many places, & the cities which he hadde newly builded & filled wᵗ inhabiters, ſhould be able to ſtay ſuch as would attẽpt any rebellion. But before he would make any diuiſion of ſuch as ſhould depart, & remain, he cauſed a proclamacion to be made ỹ al ſouldiers ſhould declare their debts (wherwyth he perceiued manye of them ſore burdened) & though their debt did riſe thorough theire owne diſorde & exceſſe, yet he was determined to diſcharge euery man. But the ſouldiers thinking it had been but a deuiſe, to trie out the prodigal frō the reſt, delayed ỹ time, & brought not in theire declaracions. The king perceiued ſhame to be the let thereof, & no diſobedience or ſelfe will: And therefore cauſed tables to be ſet vp thorough his cāp, & x. M. talēts to be brought forth: Of al which treaſure when their debts were payd, according to the iuſt declaracion, there remained of talents no more but. cccc. Wherby it appeared ỹ they which were the conquerours of ſo many rich naciōs, brought out of *Aſia*

more glory thē spoile. But after it was once knowen that some should be dispatched, and some remaine still, they thought the kynge would haue established his kingdom perpetually in *Asia*. Wherefore like mad men, and vnmyndfull of all discipline of warre, they filled the campe ful of seditious words, and came to the king more arrogantly, and with greater rigour, then euer they dyd before, all with one voice, requiring to be discharged, shewyng foorthe the hoarinesse of their heare, & their faces deformed wt scars. And herein they could not be stayed, eyther by chastisement of their officers, or by anye reuerence of their king: but when he would haue spoken vnto them, they would not suffer him to bee hearde, but disturbed his tale with their tumultuous cry, & violēt throg: protesting openly ỹ they would neuer moue one foote forwardes to any place, excepte it were towardes their owne countrey. After a great space (because they thought ỹ Alexander would incline to their purpose) they kept silence, & stode in expectacion what hee would do. Then Alexander spake vnto thē: What meaneth this sodaine trouble of mynde, this so malipert, and vnlawfull libertye? I am afrayd to speake vnto you: you haue so manifestly broken your obedience towardes me. I am nowe become a king

a king at the appointment of my people: you haue neyther lefte mee the libertye to knowe you, to exhorte you, nor to beholde you. Being determyned to send some into theire countrey before, & to bring the rest with mee shortly after: I see them aswell that shalbe nowe dispatched, crying and mutining, as those that I appoint to come with me. What a matter is this? Their crye is all alike, notwythstanding that theire cause is diuers. I would fain know whether they complaine that depart, or they that tary stil? When hee hadde spoken those wordes, they cryed all (as it had beene wyth one mouthe) that theye complayned euerye man. Then he sayd: Truly it can not be so: nor I can not bee perswaded that you shoulde all bee greeued for the cause ye declare, seeing the case toucheth not the most part of you: for I haue appointed more to depart, then to remaine stil. There must needes bee some greater mischiefe then appeareth, that should turne you all from mee. When was yt euer seene, that an whole army hath forsaken their kyng? The slaues runne not from theire masters all at once: but there is alwaies a shame in some to leaue them, whom the rest forsakes. But whye do I forget that you be mad in your mindes? or why go I about to cure you that be vncurable? I condempne from hence forthe al the good hoape ỹ euer I conceiued of you, & am determined to worke noe more with you, as with my souldiers (seeing ye will not bee myne) but with men vngratefull and vnmyndfull of my goodnes. The cause of this youre madnesse, is euen the aboundaunce of your prosperitye, wherby you forget your olde estate, from the which ye be deliuered through my benefite. you are men worthy to haue spēt your liues in your former beggerye, seeing you can better beare aduersytye,

then prosperous fortune. Beholde, you whiche a while ago, were tributaries to the Illyrians, & the Persians, do now disdaine *Asia*, & the spoiles of so many nacions. You, which vnder Philip wēt halfe naked, now ye contempne roabes of purple. Youre eies cannot endure any longer to beholde the sighte of gold and siluer. You desire againe your woodden dishes, your targets made of wyckers, and youre swoords couered with rust. I receiued you in thys simple estate, with .v. C. talents in debt, whē al my furniments exceded not in valure .xl. talents. This was my foundacion of my acts, wherewith (wout enuy be it spoken) I haue subdued the greteste part of the world. Are you wery of *Asia*, which hath ministred vnto you occasion of such glory, that by the greatnes of your actes, ye be made equall vnto the gods? do you al make suche haste into *Europe*, to forsake me that am your king? The more part of you should haue lacked moneye to beare youre charges thither, if I of my beneuolence had not paied youre debtes. Are you not ashamed, that haue robbed all *Asia*, to beare the spoiles of so many nacions within your bellies, & now to return home to your wiues & childzen, vnto whom ther be but few of you that are able to shewe any rewardes of your victorye? For many of you shalbe compelled to gage your armour, if ye forsake this good hope, ye might receiue at my hands. These be the good men of warre that I shal want, which of al their riches haue nothing left them, but onely their concubines. The way lieth open for your departure: get you hence quickly out of my sight. I with the Persians shall defende your backes when ye be gone. I will hold none of you: deliuer mine eies ye vngrateful countreymen, of the sight I see of you. Shall your parentes and childzen receiue you with ioy, when they shall see you retourne without your king? Shall theye couet to meete suche as be fugitiues, and forsakers of

theire

theire prince: I truly shal triumphe vpon your departure: & wherſoeuer you shal be, I shal desire to be reuenged, honouring alwaies, & preferryng before you, those which ye haue left here wᵗʰ me. Now you shal knowe of what force an army is ẏ lacketh a kyng, & what moment dothe consist in mee alone. When he had spoken those wordes, he leaped in a fury from the iudgement seat, and ran into the throng of the armed mē: whereas he tooke with his owne handes suche as had mutined moste againste him. Of whom there being none that durst make resistance, he deliuered.xiij. to his guard for to be safely kept. Who would think that an assembly which a little before had spoken vnto theire prince with such fiercenes and rigour, could haue beene so sodeinlye appaled for feare: Which seeing theire companions led to execucion, durst not moue, nor make attempte. But ẏ inordinate libertie they vsed before, their seditious violence, was then so stayed, that neuer one of them durst resist the kyng running amongst them, but were al astonied for feare, & stoode like men amased, with doubtfull imaginacions, looking what hee woulde determine of the offenders. Whether it were the reuerence theye bare to hys name, because the nacions that liue vnder kynges, are wont to honour them as gods,

or were it the maiestie of his persone, or els his owne assured constancy, executyng hys authoritie with such violence, that put them in feare: they shewed a notable ensample of pacience. For they remained not onely without stur or mocion at the execucion of theire companions (whom they knew to be put to death in the night time) but also were more diligent in doing their duties theneuer they were before: pretermitting nothing pertey-ning to obedience, and natural affection to-wardes their prince. For the nexte day when they came to the court, it were not suffred to enter, but all shut out sauing ẏ souldiers of *Asia*, they made a sorowful cry and lamen-tacion, which spred ouer al the campe, pro-testing that they would not liue, if the kyng continued still in his wrath. But he ẏ was obstinate in all thynges that hee hadde once conceyued in his head, commaunded all the Macedons to kepe still their campe, and as-sembled the souldiours straungers together, to whom by an interpretour hee made thys Oration. At suche tyme as I came firste out of *Europe* into *Asia*, mye trust was to bring many noble nacions, and great power of menne, vnder myne Empire and dominion: wherein I was not decei-ued. For besides that the fame reported you to bee men of valure, I haue fouñd in you one thing more: which is, an incomparable obedience, fidelitie, and affection

affection towardes your prince. I thought voluptuousnes had ouer flowen all vertue amongst you, and that through your great felicitie, yee had beene drowned in pleasures: But I fynd it otherwyse, and perceiue that none obserue the discipline & order of the warres, better then you doe, nor execute the same with more actiuitie nor stoutnes: And being manfull and valiaunt menne, ye embrace fidelytye, no lesse then you do the rest. This thyng I do but nowe acknowledge: but I knewe it longe agoe; whiche was the cause that I chose you oute of the youth of your nacions, to bee myne souldiours, and did incorporate you amongst myne owne people, causing you to vse the same habit, and the same armour: But your obedience and pacience towardes the authoritie, appeareth muche better in you then in them. Therefore I haue ioyned to my self in marriage, the daughter of Oxatres that is a Persian: not disdayning to begette children vppon a captiue. And afterwardes desiryng more aboundauntly to encrease the issue of my body, I tooke to wyfe the daughter of Darius, and was the authour ỹ myne neare frendes likewyse shoulde beget children vpon captiues: mynding by this holy couenant to exclude the difference betweene the victorors and the vanquyshed. wherefore you must nowe think that you bee not souldiours vnto me adopted, but more naturall: And that *Asia* and *Europe* is one kyngdome withoute anye difference. I haue geuen vnto you armour after the maner of the Macedons. I haue brought al straungenes & noueltie into a custome: and nowe yee bee bothe myne countrey menne and myne souldiours, all thynges receyuynge one fourme and fashyon. I haue not thoughte it vnseemelye for the Persians to shadowe the customes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfait ỹ Persiãs: seing they ought to be vnder one law & custome, ỹ shoulde line vnder one kyng.

When he hadde made this oracion, he committed the custody of his person vnto ỹ Persians: hee made them of his guarde and hys officers of iustice. By whom when the Macedons, which had geeuen occasion of thys sedicion were led bound vnto execucion, one of them that was more auncient & of greater estimacion then the rest, spake after thys maner. How long will you thus geue place vnto youre will, in executyng vs after the straungers maner? your souldiours and countreymen be drawen to execucion by theire owne prisoners, before their causes is hard. If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at least way chaunge the ministers of your wrath. This was a good admonishmēt if he had beene pacient to heare the truethe: But his wrathe was growen into a woodnes: so that when he saw them which hadde the charge of the prisoners stay a litle at the matter, he caused the prisoners to bee tumbled into the riuer, and there drowned. Notwithstanding ỹ cruelty of this punishment, the souldiers were not sturred to anye sedycion, but repaired by rowtes vnto their captaines, and vnto suche as were nere aboute the kyng: requiring that if there yet remayned any infected with the same offence, that he should commaund thē to be put to death, proffering theire bodies to bee punished and

execu-

executed at his owne will. After it was knowen that the lieutenant his ships were geuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into diuers orders with such names geuen vnto them as were vnto ẏ Macedons, & that they were reiected wᵭ reproch they could not then any longer conteine thẽ selues, nor suffer the dolour they had cõceyued in their hartes, but with a great throng pressed to the court, wearing only their nethermost garments, & leauing theire weapons without ẏ gate in token of repentãce. There with weeping, & al tokens of humylitie, they made request to bee admitted to ẏ kings presence, & ẏ he would vouchesafe to pardon theire offence: pacifiyng hys wrathe with the deth of so many as he should think good, rather then to suffer them to liue in such reproch: which except he would releas, they protested they would neuer depart out of the place. When those things were declared vnto Alexander, he caused the court gates to be opened, and came foorthe amongst them: Whereas beholding their lamentacyon and repẽtance, their miserable behauour and affliction, he could not abstain to weepe long time with them: and in consideracyon of their modesty, forgaue them their former

offences

offences. And after he had temperatly tolde them theire faultes, and againe comforted them with gentle words, he discharged many from the seruice of the warres, and sent them home liberally rewarded: writyng to Antipater his lieutenaunt in Macedon, that he should assigne them the chiefe places in the theaters, at triumphes, and open plaies, where as they should sit with garlandes on their heads: willing that their children after their deathes, should enioy their fathers wages. He appointed Craterus to be their ruler, to whō in the place of Antipater he had cōmitted the gouernment of *Macedon*, *Thessalie*, and *Thrace*: sendyng for Antipater to repaire vnto him with a supply of yong souldiours. Alexander had receiued letters before, both frō him, & Olimpias his mother: wherby dissension appeared to bee betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater, ẏ he went about to make him selfe king: And Antipater did wryte howe Olympyas dyd manye thinges otherwise thenne dyd become her. Antipater did take hys callynge away so greuously in his hart, that he conspired thereupon to poyson Alexander: who hauing accomplished ẏ matters that before he mencioned, went to *Echatan* (beeing in *Media*) to set order in the necessarye affaires

of

of his Empire, and there ordeined solempne triumphes and feastyng. It chaunced Ephestion, whom the kyng specialye loued, and vsed in place of a brother, to dy the same time of a feuer: Whose deathe Alexander tooke more sorowfully, then may well bee credited, cõmitting in his dolor many thinges that were vnseemyng for the maiestye of a prynce. Hee commaunded Ephestions Physition to bee hanged, as though he had dyed thorough hys negligence. He lay embracing of the dead bodye, and could hardlye bee taken away by his frendes, but continued his sorowe nighte and daye. There bee manye other things wrytten in that behalfe, whiche bee scarcelye credible. But it is certaine that he commaunded sacrifice to bee made vnto him as vnto a God, and consumed in his buriall and makynge of hys tombe, aboue twelue thousand talentes. As hee was returning to *Babilon*, the Caldean Prophets met him on the way, exhortynge him that hee shoulde not enter into the Cytie, for that it was signyfied, that if hee went thither at that time, hee shoulde be in great peryll of hys lyfe. Notwithstanding hee regarded not theire admonyshementes, but wente forwardes in his iourney,

accordyng

accordinge as he appoynted. For he vnderstoode that Embassadours were come thyther from all regions, tarying for his commynge. The terrour of his name was so spread through the worlde, that all nations shewed an obsequiousnes towardes hym, as though he had bene appointed to be their kinge. That caused hym to make haste to *Babilon*, to keepe there as it were a parliament of the whole worlde. When he was come thither, he receiued the Embassadors gentlye, and afterwardes dispatched them home againe. There was aboute the same tyme a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house, whervnto the kinge beynge bidden, came thither with such as were appointed to keepe him company: But he had not so soone dronke of Hercules cuppe, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had bene stricken to the hart. And beinge caried out of the feast halfe dead, was so tormented with paine, that he required a sword to haue killed him selfe. His frendes dyd publyshe abroade, dronkennes to be the cause of hys disease: but in verye deede it was prepensed treason, the infamye whereof, the power of his successours did oppresse. The poiso prepared long before, was deliuered by Antipater

pater vnto Cassander his son, whiche wyth his brethren Philip & Jolla, were wont to serue the kinge at meate. He was warned that he shoulde not commit the same poyson to any person, except it were to Thessal⁹ or to his brethren. Philip therfore and Jollas, whiche were wont to take the saye of the kinges cuppe, hauinge the poyson ready in colde water, mixed it with wine, after they had tasted it. When the fowerth daye was come, the souldiers partly for that they suspected he had ben dead, and partlye because they coulde not endure to want longe hys syght, came sorowfully vnto the court, desizinge to see the kinge, whiche by his commaundement were admitted vnto his presence, by such as had the charge of hys person. When they beheelde him lyinge in that case, they made great sorow and lamentacion: for he seemed not to them to be the same theire kinge, whom they were wont to see, but rather a dead corps. If their griefe were great, the sorowe of them that stoode nerte to the bedde appeared muche more, whome when Alexander beheelde lamentynge after that sorte, he sayde vnto them: When I shall depart, you shall fynde a king worthy for such men as you be. It is a thinge incredible, how ꝑ during ꝑ time ꝑ souldiours of hys

his whole armye came to visite him, he neuer altered countenaunce nor gesture, but continued in that kinde of presence, he gaue vnto the first, vnto the laste man. When he had dismissed the multitude, as thoughe he had beene discharged of all debte of lyfe, he lay downe againe to rest his weake bodye: and his voice beginninge to faile him, commaunded his frēds to come nere about him. Then taking his ringe from his fynger, deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue therewith a commaundement that his body should be conueyed to *Hammon*. They demaunded to whom he woulde leaue his kingdome. He sayed: to the worthiest. By which wordes it appeared that he forsawe the contencion that was like to ensue vpon his death. Perdicas moreouer demaunded of hym, when he would haue diuine honours doone vnto him: At suche time (q he) as you shall finde your selues in felicitie. These were the last wordes Alexander spake, and shortly after he died. Immediatly after his death, ẏ court was full of howling, lamentinge, & sorowe making: & by & by, as it had bene in a desert or a place solitary, all thinges were whist, & a sorowfull silēce was spread ouer al, euery mā being cōuerted into imagination, what

should

shoulde become of ỹ matter. The yong men of the nobilitie, ỹ were accustomed aboute Alexãders person, could not beare ỹ greatnes of theire dolour, nor keepe them selues within compasse of ỹ courte, but ran aboute as mẽ out of their wits: wherby ỹ citie was filled with heauines and complaint, and no kinde of lamentacion prętermitted, ỹ sorowe is wont to minister in suche a case. Suche therfore as were without the court, vnderstanding this matter, aswell Macedons as other, came running thether, wheras ỹ cõquerours from the conquered, nor the victorers from the vanquished coulde not be discerned: the sorowe was so indifferent to thẽ al. The Persians called vpon their iust and mercifull Lorde, & the Macedons made inuocaciõ to him ỹ was so valiaunt & gracyous a king: And thus ther was a certien contencion of sorowe amongst thẽ. Men did not vse their onely wordes of griefe and heauines, but also of grudge & indignacion, ỹ so yong a prince, being in the flower of his age, and of his fortunate successe, should by the enuy of the Goddes, be so takẽ out of this world. They called to remembrance what a cherefulnesse theye hadde alwaies seene in hys countenance, bothe when hee ledde them to

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the battaile, when hee besieged or assaulted any citie, or when he would geue any commendacion to the worthy in any assemblye. Then the Macedõs repented that euer they had denyed him diuine honours: confessing them selues bothe wicked & vngratefull for depriuing him of any name, wherof he was worthy. And when they had continued long in the veneracion & desire of hym that was dead, then they began to pitye theire owne case, which comming out of Macedon, were past the riuer of *Euphrates*, amongst ỹ midst of their enemies, that vnwillingly receiued their newe gouernment. They sawe them selues left destitute, & the Empire without any certain heire: for want of whom, euery one would go about to drawe the power of the state vnto his priuate behooke. And then theye began to conceiue and forsee in theire mindes the ciuil warres that did ensue, and ỹ they should be enforced to shed their bloud againe, not for the conquest of *Asia*, but for the title of some suche one that would go about to make him selfe king: wherby theire olde scarres should breake oute againe into newe woundes. And moreouer that suche as by reason of theire age hadde beene discharged from the warres by theire noble & righteous

righteous king, shoulde now be enforced to spend their lyues in the quarel of some such one as was but his souldiour. Whiles they were in these imaginacions, the nyght came on, and encreased their terrour. The men of warre watched in harneys, and the Babilonians looked ouer the walles, peeping out from the toppes of their houses, to spye some certeintie howe the matter went. There was none that durste kindle anye light: And because the vse of ẏ eye did faile, they laide their eares to heare the rumours and wordes that were spoken: And many times they were afrayde, when no cause was: and when they mett togeather in the narrow stretes, or darke lanes, they would be amazed, & suspect eche other as enemies. The Persians after their accustomed maner, clipped their hear, & with their wyues and children lamented the death of Alexander in mourning garments, with vnfayned affection: not as a conquerour, and one that lately had bene their enemy, but as theyre ryghtwise & naturall king. For they being accustomed to lyue vnder a kinge, coulde thinke no man more worthy then he to rule ouer them. This sorrowe was not contyned win the walles of the citie, but streight

wales spredde ouer all the countrey thereaboutes. And the same of so great a mischiefe flying throughout *Asia*, brought soone tydinges therof vnto Darius mother. She at the first reporte tare a sunder the garment she ware, and put on mourning apparayle: she pulled her heare, and fell downe grouelyng vppon the earth. One of her Neeces sate by her mourning the death of Ephestion whom she had maryed, and in an vniuersall heauinesse, bewailed the cause of her priuate sorrowe. But Sysigambis alone susteined all their miseries, and bewayled both her own case & her Neeces: her freshe sorowe causyng her to call to mynd thinges past. A man would haue iudged by her behauour that Darius had ben newly slaine, and that she had celebrated the funerals of bothe her sonnes togeether. She dyd not onelye lament the dead, but sorowed also for the liuyng. Who shall nowe (quod she) take care of these young women? or who can bee lyke vnto Alexander? nowe we be taken prisoners agayne: nowe we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate. After Darius death we founde one to defende vs. But nowe sence Alexander is gone, who will haue respecte of vs? Emonge these thinges she called to mynde, how Oechus the cruell king had slain her father, & foure

sore

fedre of her brethren in one day, & that of. vij. childzen borne of her bodye, there was but one of them left a liue. Shee sawe that fortune had aduaunced Darius, and caused him to florishe for a tyme, to the entent hee might ende his life by greater crueltie. Finally shee was so ouercome with sorowe, that she couered her head, turning her selfe from her Neece and nephewe that sate at her feete, and abstaining bothe from meate and from beholding of the light, ended her life the fift daye after shee was determined to dye. This her death was a greate argument of the clemency Alexander hadde shewed towardes her, and of the iustice towardes all the captiues: seeing that after Darius deathe shee coulde abyde to liue, but after Alexanders departure, shee was ashamed to continue any longer. Considering Alexander rightuously, wee must impute all his vertues to his owne nature, & hys vyces eyther to hys youth, or to the greatnes of hys Fortune. There was in hym an incredible force of courage, and an exceedyng sufferaunce of trauayle. Hee was endued with manhoode: exceedyng, not onelye emonges kynges, but also emonges such as had no other vertue nor qualitie.

He was of suche liberalitie, ỹ oftentimes he gaue greater things, then ỹ receiuers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingdomes ỹ he gaue in gifte, & restored to such from whom he had take̅ them by force, was a token of his clemency towardes the̅ ỹ he subdued. He shewed a perpetuall contempt of death, ỹ feare wherof doth amase other men. And as ther was in him a greater desire of glory & worldly praise then reason woulde beare, so was it tollerable in so yonge a man enterprising so great & notable actes. The reuerence & affection he bare towardes his parentes appeared in ỹ purpose he had to consecrate his mother Olimpias to immortalitie, & in ỹ he so sore reuenged Philips death. How gentle & familiar was he towardes his frendes, & how benenolent toward his souldiers? He had a wisdome equal to the greatnes of his hart, and such a polity and forecast, as so yong years were scarcely able to receiue. A measure he hadde in immoderate pleasures, and lusted lesse then nature desyred, desynge no pleasure, but that was lawful: these were wonderfull great gyftes and vertues. But in that he compared hym selfe to the Goddes, couetynge diuine honours, and beleued the

Oracles

Oracles that perſwaded ſuche thinges: that he was offended with them that would not worſhippe him, and geuen more vehemently to wrath then was expedient: That he altered his habyte and apparaille into the faſhion of ſtraungers, and counterfayted the cuſtome of them he hadde ſubdued, and deſpiſed before his victorye: theſe were vyces to be attributed to the greatnes of fortune. As the heat of youthe ſtirred vnto anger, and to the deſyre of dronkynge: ſo age might haue mittigated againe thoſe faults. Notwithſtandynge it muſt needes be confeſſed, that thoughe he preuayled muche by hys vertue, yet oughte he to impute more vnto his fortune, whiche onely of all mortall menne he hadde in hys owne power. Howe often dyd ſhe delyuer hym from the poincte of death? How often did ſhe defend him with perpetuall felicitye, when he had raſhelye brought hym ſelfe in perill? And when ſhe pointed an ende to his glorye, ſhe euen then was content to fynyſhe his lyfe: ſtayinge his fatall deſtenie, tyll he had ſubdued the *Orient*, viſyted the *Occean* Sea, and fulfylled all that mannes mortalitye was hable to perfourme. To thys ſo great a kynge, and ſo noble a Conquerour, a ſuc-

ceſſour was looked for. But the matter was of ouer greate importaunce for any one man to take vppon him: Alexanders name and renowne was ſo great emonges all nacions: and they were counted moſte noble, that myght bee partakers (though it were neuer ſo lytle) of his proſperous fortune. But to retourne againe to *Babilon*, from whence the digreſſiō hath ben made: They which had the guarde and cuſtodye of Alexanders perſon, called into the court ſuche as had beene his chiefe frendes and Capitaines of the menne of warre: after whome there followed a greate multitude of Souldiours, deſyring to knowe who ſhoulde bee ſucceſſour vnto Alexander. The throng of the Souldiours was ſuche that manye of the Capitaines were excluded, and coulde not enter into the courte. A proclamacion therfore was made, whereby all men were forbidden to enter, excepte ſuch as were called by name. But becauſe their commaundement ſeemed to want authoritie, it was litle regarded: & the multitude at the firſte began to make a grenous ſorow & lamentaciō. But imediatly ỹ deſire they had to vnderſtād ỹ ſucceſſe of ỹ matter ſtopped their lamentacion & made ſylence.

Then

Then Perdicas brought foorth in sight of all the people, the kynges Chaire of estate, wherein Alexanders diademe, his vestures regall, and his armour was laide: emongs the whiche ornaments, Perdicas also laied downe the kynges signet, delyuered to hym the daye before, at the sight whereof they began to weepe, and to renue again theire sorowe. Then saide Perdicas: Lo here is the Ring wherewith hee was wont to seale suche thinges, as pertained to the gouernement of his Empyre, whiche as he delyuered to mee, I so restore it agayne to you. And although no aduersitie can be deuysed by the Goddes (were they neuer so muche offended) comparable to this: yet considering the greatnes of the actes whyche hee hath done, we must thinke that as the Goddes sēt suche a man so to reigne in the worlde (his tyme being expired that was appointed) they haue called him againe to the place from whence he came. Forasmuche therfore as none other thing remayneth of him emonges vs, but onely that whyche is alwaies wont to be remoued from immortalitie: let vs performe ẏ due, pertaining both to his body, & to his name: remēbring in what citie we bee, emonges what kynd of of people, & what a kynge & gouernour we haue lost. We must debate & deuise howe to maintaine our conquest emonges thē of whome it is gotten: For the doyng whereof, it is nedefull for vs to haue an head. But whether the same shalbee one, or manye, it doth consist in you. You are not ignorant that a multitude of menne of warre wythout an head, is a body without lyfe. Syxe monethes bee nowe passed, synce Roxane was conceiued wt chylde: wee desyre of

God that shee maye bring foorth a sonne, whyche may enioy this kingdome, when he cometh to age. In the meane season appoint you of whom ye will be gouerned. Whē Perdicas had spokē these woordes, Nearchus rose vp, and sayed, There is no man can denye, but that it were mete for Alexanders succession to continue in the bloud royall: but to looke for a king that is not yet borne and to passe ouer one that is in his being alreadye, is neyther expedient for suche men as the Macedons be, nor yet doth serue the necessitie of ỹ time. There is a sonne which Alexander begot by Barsynes: what should let, why the Diadem may not be set on his head: Nearchus tale was acceptable to no man. Therefore the souldyers according to their custome clashed their speares against the targets, & continued makyng of a noise. And whē he would not forsake his opinion but obstinately maynteined the same, the matter had almost breade a sedicion, which thing perceyued by Ptholomeus, hee spake after this maner. Neyther the sonne of Roxane nor Barsines, is an issue meete to reigne ouer the Macedōs: whose names we shoulde be ashamed to mencion within *Europe*, theire mothers being captiues. Haue wee subdued the Persians to that ende, to become subiect to suche as be descended of them. That was the thing whiche Darius & Xerxes, being kinges of *Perse* wrought for in vayne, with so many millions of menne of warre, and wyth so manye nauyes. This therefore is myne opinion, that Alexanders Chayre of estate bee sett in the myddes of hys

his courte, and that all suche as were wont to bee of counsayle wyth hym, shall assemble togeather, so often as anye matter requireth to bee consulted vppon: And that the Capitaines and rulers of ỹ armye shalbe obedient to that order, wherunto the greater number do assent. There were some agreed with Ptholomeus: but fewe wyth Perdicas. Then Aristonus spake in thys wise. When Alexander was demaunded, to whō he woulde leaue his kingdome, he willed the worthyest to be chosen. Whome iudged he worthyest but Perdicas, to whome he deliuered his ryng. This was not done at such time as he was alone: but when all hys frendes were present, he did cast his eyes amonges them, and at length chose out one, to whome he delyuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, that the kyngdome bee committed vnto Perdicas. Many agreed to his opinīō, so that the assembly cryed to Perdicas, that he should come foorth emonges them, and take vp the kings signet. But he stayed betwene ambition and shamefastnesse, thinking the more modestye he vsed in getting the thing, whiche he coueted, they woulde bee so muche the more earnest to proffer it hym. When he hadde stand a good whyle at a staye, doubtyng what to doe, at length he drewe backe, and stoode behynde them whyche sate nerte vnto hym. When Meleager that was one of the Captaines saw the staye that Perdicas made, he tooke courage

rage vppon his feeblenes and sayed: Neyther the Goddes will permitt, nor menne will suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weyght of so greate an Empire shoulde rest vppon his shoulders: I will not rehearse howe there bee manye menne more noble then he is, and of greater worthynesse, without whose consent no suche thynge may be suffred to be done. There is no difference whether ye make Perdicas kynge, or the sonne of Roxane, whensoeuer hee shalbee borne. Seyng Perdicas goeth about to make hym selfe kyng, vnder pretence to bee gouernour to the Infant: That is the cause why no kynge can please hym, but suche as is not yet borne. And in such an haste as all wee make to haue a kyng (whiche haste is bothe meete and necessarye for the preseruacion of our estate) Hee onely doth wayte for the expyring of tymes, and monethes: imagining that she should bryng fourth a man childe, whiche I thynke ye doubt not but he is readye to counterfayt and exchaunge, if neede be. If it were so in very deede, that Alexander had appointed him to be our king: I am of oppinion that the same thing onlye (of all the thinges he hath commaunded) ought not to be performed & kepte. Why do not you runne therfore to spoyle the treasure, seeing that the people ought to enherite it? When he hadde spoken those woordes, he brake through the preasse of armed men: and they whiche gaue hym way, followed him to the spoyle, wherof he had made mention. The gredynesse of the treasure caused a great bande of armed mé to flocke about Meleager, and the assemblie began to fall to discorde and sedition: which

had

had growen to greater inconuenience, if a meane souldiour (whō very fewe did knowe) had not stepped forth, & spoken to the multitude. What neede we (quod he) to fall to force or ciuil warre, seing we haue a king alredy, which you seeke to fynde: The same is Arideus Philips sonne, brother to Alexander that lately was our kyng, borne and brought vp in the same religion & ceremonies that wee do vse: who being the onelye heyre, I maruayle by what deseruyng of his, hee is ouerslipped, or what hee hath done, why hee shoulde not enioye hys ryght, descended vnto him by the vniuersall lawe of the worlde: If you seeke one to be comparable to Alexander, you shal neuer fynde hym. If you wyll haue suche one as shall approche nexte vnto hym, thys is onely he. When these wordes were heard emonges the multitude, they kept sylence at the first, as if they hadde been commaunded by auctoritie: but afterwardes they cryed wyth one voyce, that Arideus shoulde be called, and that they were worthy death, whiche made anye assemblye wythout hym. Then Python all besprenkled wyth teares, began to speake. Nowe I perceyue (quod hee) Alexanders case to bee moste miserable, seyng hee is defrauded af the fruyte, whyche suche as were hys Souldiours and subiectes shoulde brynge forth at suche a tyme as thys is. For you hauing respecte onelye to the name and memorye of your kyng, be vtterly blynde in the rest of things. His wordes tended directlye to the reproofe of

Arideus

Arideus, that was elected king. But ỹ tale procured more hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him against whom they were ment. For the compassion they had of Arideus, caused them the more to fauour hys cause: and therefore declared by an obstinate crye, that they would not suffer any to reigne ouer them, but him onelye whyche was borne to that possibilitie: and still called for Arideus to come forth emonges thē. Whereupon Peleager (for the malice and enuy he bare vnto Perdicas) tooke an occasion boldly to bring him into the assemblye, whome the multitude saluted as king, and called him Philip. This was the voyce of the people: but the nobilitie was of another mynd, of whom Pithon tooke vpon hym to put Perdicas deuise in execucion, & appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (descended of ỹ bloud roiall) to be gouernours of the sonne which shoulde be borne of Rorane: addyng more ouer, ỹ Craterus & Antipater should haue the rule within Europe: And vppon this they sware ỹ souldiours to be obedyent to Aleranders issue. Peleager then doubting (not without cause) that some euyll might come to him, departed with suche as were of his faction: but he returned immediatly

diatly againe, bringing Philip with hym into the court, & cryed out to the multitude for the assisting of the comon welth, in aydyng of the new kyng, whom a litle before they had elected: and willed them to make an experiment of his actiuitie, perswadyng that he was the meetest to rule ouer them, being the issue of Philip, that had bothe a kyng to his father, and a kyng to his brother. There is no profound Sea so stormye nor tempestuous, that rayseth vp so manye sourges & waues, as a multitude doth motions & alterations, when they haue gottē the bridle of a new libertie, not likely long to continue. There wanted not some that gaue their consent to Perdicas: but more agreed to make Philip kyng. They coulde neither agree nor disagree to any thing lōg time together: One whyle repentyng them of that they had determined, and streyghtwaies forthought them of that repentance. Yet finally, they were enclyned to preferre the kinges bloud. Arideus was put in suche feare with the authoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assemblye, after whose departure, the fauour of ỹ souldiers was rather sylent, then decaied towardes hym: So that at lēgth he was called again,

and

and his brothers veſture regall, whiche laye in the chaire, put vpon him. And Meleager put on his armoure, followyng as a defence to the perſon of the new king. The ſouldyours of the footeband claſhed their ſpeares to their targets, threatning to ſhedde theire bloud, which would couet the kingdom that pertained not to them. They reioiſed that ỹ force of the Empire ſhould not bee dyſperkled, but ſtill continue in the ſame familye: the right of whoſe enheritance, comming of the bloud roiall, they ſhewed thẽ ſelues readye alwaies to defende. For by reaſon theye were accuſtomed to haue the name of theire king in ſuch honour and in veneracion, they thought no man worthy for it, but ſuch one as came thereunto by diſcent of bloud. Perdicas therfore was afrayde, & with. vi. hundred men that were of an approoued manhode, tooke vppon him to defende the place, whereas the bodye of Alexander lay. Ptholomeus toyned him ſelfe vnto him alſo, and the bande of the yong gentlemenne that were aboute the kinges perſon. But ſo manye thouſands of armed men as were vpon the other ſide did eaſely breake in vpon them: Amongſt whom the king was preſent with a great band for ỹ guard about his perſon:

whereof

whereof Peleager was chiefe. Perdicas therefore in a great furie, called such to hys part as would defend Alexanders body: but manye of them were sore hurte with dartes that were throwen from the contrary syde. At the last the auncient men plucked of their head peeces (the better to be knowen) and desyred them which were with Perdicas to abstaine from ciuill warre, and geue place to the king, and to the greater part. Whereupon Perdicas was the fyrste that layed downe his weapon, and the reste did in lyke maner. Peleager then perswaded them ỹ they shoulde not departe, but remayne styll about the dead corps: but he iudging that to be a deceite, and a meane to entrappe hym, fled to a place on the further syde of *Euphrates*, lyyng ouer against the courte. Then the horsemen, which consisted chiefly of the nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas, and Leonatus, whose oppinion was to depart out of the citie, and take the fyeldes: But because Perdicas was not without hoape, that the footemen woulde haue taken his parte, he remained still within the citie, lest he might seme to be ỹ cause that the horsemen should deuide them selues from the rest of ỹ army. Peleager ceased not to beate in the kinges

head,

head, that he coulde not establiſhe him ſelfe ſurely in his eſtate, otherwiſe then by the death of Perdicas, whoſe ambitious mind, deſyrous of innouation, was (he ſaid) to be preuented in tyme. He willed the kyng to remember what Perdicas had deſerued at his handes, and that no man could be faithfull to him, whome he feared. The kyng ſuffering the thing, rather then geuing hys conſent to the matter, Meleager tooke hys ſylence for a commaundement, and ſent for Perdicas in the kinges name: and they which were ſent, had cõmiſſion to kil him, if he made any ſticking to come with them. Perdicas hearing of their comming, accõpanied onelye with xvi. young gentlemen (accuſtomed to attende vppon Alexanders perſonne) mett them as they woulde haue entred into his lodging, and callyng them Meleagers ſlaues, rebuked them wyth ſuch a conſtancy, both of mynde and countenãce that they returned backe againe as menne amazed. Perdicas willed ſuch a were in his company to leape on horſebacke: and wyth a fewe of his frendes repayred vnto Leonatus, mynding if anye violence were moued againſt him to repulſe it with a greater force. The next day the Macedons grudged

and

& thought it a matter vnfitting, ỹ Perdicas
ſhould be brought in danger of death after
ſuch a ſort: & therefore determined w̃ force
to reuẽge ỹ raſhnes of Peleagers doyngs.
But he vnderſtanding of the mutinie that
was amongſt the ſouldiours, gaue place: &
they repaired to the king, demaũding of him
if he had commaunded Perdicas to be take.
He confeſſed the thing: but it was done (hee
ſayd) by Peleagers mocion, whiche hee de-
clared to be no cauſe for them to make anye
ſturre, ſeing that Perdicas was aliue. The
aſſembly hereupon brake vp, and Peleager
became gretly afraied, ſpecially ſo aſtonyed
by the parting of the horſemen, that he wyſt
not what to do: for he ſaw ỹ miſchief (which
he a litle before had wrought agaynſte hys
enemy) like to lighte vppon him ſelfe. And
whiles he deuiſed this and that, three daies
were conſumed & ſpent. The wonted forme
and faſhion of the court did remayne in the
meane ſeaſon. For the Embaſſadors of dy-
uers nacions made repaire vnto the king: ỹ
captaines of the armye did aſſemble about
him, and the guarde wayted in armour as
they were accuſtomed. But the greate ſad-
nes that was there without any apparaunt
cauſe, ſignified ſome extreme diſpair. Ther
was ſuch a ſuſpicion amongſt them ſelues,

that menne durſt not company togeethers, nor ſpeake one to another, but ſtoode imaginyng ſecreatlye wyth them ſelues: and by comparinge the tyme preſent wyth the tyme paſt, and the newe kyng wyth the olde, they beganne to deſyre him that was gone. Then one enquired of another, wher he was become, whoſe fortune and authoritie they had folowed? Then they founde themſelues abandoned emonges ſo manye wylde nacions, whiche were deſyrous vpon any occaſion that myght fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receyued. Whiles they were troubled in theſe ymaginacions, worde was brought that ỹ horſemen (which were vnder Perdicas) kept the fieldes about *Babilon*, and ſtayed all victuals, commyng to the citie. Wherupon firſt began a ſcarſitie, and afterwardes a famine. Therefore ſuche as were within the citie, thought good, either to make a reconſiliation with Perdicas, or els to fyght out the matter. It chaunced that ſuch as dwelled abroad in the countrey, fearing ỹ ſpoile of the villages, repaired into the citie. And they within the citie for lacke of victualles, departed into the countrey: So that euerye one thought them ſelues ſurer any where,

then

then in their owne habitacions. Then the Macedons doubting some great incõuenience that might come of this feare, assembled together in the court, & shewed foorth their opinions. It was agreed emonges thẽ that embassadours should be sent to ẏ horsmen, for ẏ surcessing of all strife & diuision. Palus a Thessalian, Amissas a Pegapolitan, & Perelaus were sent from the kyng: who declaring their cõmissiõ, receiued aunswere, that the horsmen woulde not seuer their power, till the authors of the sedition were deliuered into their hands. Wh̃e they were returned, & their answere knowẽ, the souldiours without any appointment, putt on their armour, & made such a tumult, that the king was enforced to come foorth of the court, & said vnto them: If we shalbe at stryfe emõges our selues, our enemies that be quiet, shal enioy the fruit of our contencion. Remember that the quarel is with your owne countrey men, with whom if ye rashely breake the hoape of reconcilement, ye shalbee the beginners of a ciuile warre: Let vs proue if the matter maye be mittigated by an other Embassate. I am of oppinion, that forasmuche as Alexanders body remayneth yet vnburyed, they wil gladly come together, to perform the due vnto ẏ dead. And for my parte, I had rather surrender vp agayne this dignitie, then anye blood shoulde be shedd emonges my countreym̃. For if no other hoape of cõcord do remaine, I desyre & pray you to make a better choise.

And with that word hee wept, and pullyng the Diademe frō his hed, & holdyng ỹ same forth with his hand, ready to haue delyuered it to any man that would haue claymed to be more worthy then he. The moderacyon that he vsed both in his wordes, and hys behauour, caused them al to cōceiue a great good hoape of his noble nature, which (tyll that tyme) was obscured with hys brothers fame. They therefore required and encouraged him to goe forwardes in the matter, as hee had deuised. Whereupon he sent again for Emballadours the same men that went before: whiche hadde commission to require, that Meleager might be the thirde ruler of the men of warre. That matter was not much sticked at: for Perdicas was desirous to remoue Meleager frō ỹ king, & thoughte that hee alone shoulde not be able to matche with Leonatus and him. Vppon this Meleager marched out of the city with the fotemen: and Perdicas met him in the fieldes, riding before the bands of the horsemenne. There both battails saluting one another, concord, peace, and amitie, was confyrmed betwirt them for euer (as it was thought) But it was decreed by destenỹ ỹ ciuil wars should rise amongst ỹ Macedons. For gouernment

uernment is vnpacient of partners: and the kingdome was coueted by manye. Whiche as it firste grewe in force, so afterwardes it was dispersed againe. For when the bodye was burdened with mo heads then it could beare, the other members beganne to fayle. So thempire of the Macedons, which vnder one head might wel haue stand, whē it was deuided in partes, fell to ruine. For ẏ cause the people of Roome iustly must confesse thē selues bound vnto their prince, for the felicitye they haue found: Whiche as a starre in the night appeared vnto them, ẏ were nere lost: And as the sunne gaue light to ẏ world being in darknes, when without such a hed the members that were at variaunce, muste needes haue quailed: How many fyer brandes did he quenche? how many swords ready drawen did he put vp againe? How great a tempest did he pacifie wō the sodain caulme of his presence? The Empire nowe doth ware greene & florishing: Let me desire wōout enuy, that his house maye continue manye ages, and hys posteritie remaine for euermore. But to retourne againe to the order of ẏ hystorye, frō whēce I was brought thorough the contemplacion of our vniuersall felicitie: Perdicas iudged the only hope

of his owne saufeguarde, to consiste in the death of Meleager: thinking it necessary to preuent him beinge a man bothe variable, vnfaithfull, geeuen to innouacion, and besydes, his mortall enemie. But with deepe dissimulacion he kept his purpose secret, to thintent that with lesse difficultie, he might oppresse him vnbewares. He did suborne therefore priuely certaine of the bandes vnder his rule, to complain openly (as though it were without his knowlege) that Meleager should be made equall with him in authoritie: whiche woordes of the souldyours, when they were reported vnto Meleager, became in a great rage, and declared theire sayinges to Perdicas. He semed to wonder at the matter, blaminge theire doinge, as thoughe he had bene sory for the thing: and fynallye they agreede that the authors of suche seditious woordes shoulde be taken. When Meleager perceyued Perdicas so conformable, he embraced hym, and gaue hym thankes for hys fidelitye and beneuolence. There by a consultacion had betwixt them both, they deuised how to destroy such as wrought this deuision betwixt thē. For the bringing of that to passe they agreed, ỹ tharmy should be purged according to their

countrey

countrey custome. To the doing whereof, they seemed to haue a sufficient occasion, by reason of the late discorde emonges them. The kynges of Macedon in punishynge of their souldiours, were wont to vse a kynde of ceremony, diuiding the bowels of a dogg in two partes, & to caste the same in the vttermost boundes of the field, whereon they purposed to muster the armye. There the men of warre accustome to stande armed: bothe the horsemen the mercenarie souldiers, & the Phalanx, euery one a parte. The same day that this ceremonie was put in execution, the king stoode in order of battaile with the horsmen & the Elephants against the footemen, of whome Meleager had the rule. When the troupes of horsmen began to moue, the footmen were stryken sodeinly wyth feare: and by reason of the late discorde, conceiued a suspicion that the horsemen ment them no good. Wherefore they stoode a while in a doubte, whether they should retire into ỹ citie or no, by reasõ that the fieldes serued best for the horsemenne. But least without cause they might condemne the fidelitie of their compagnions, stoode stil wᵭ a determinate mynde to fyght if any proffered thẽ violence. When ỹ bat-

tasles were almost mette together, onely a
smal distaunce left betwixt them, wher(by
the one parte was deuyded from the other)
the kinge by the prouocacion of Perdicas,
with a bande of horsemen dyd ryde a longe
the fotemen, requiring the deliuerie of such
to be executed, as were the authours of the
discorde: whom in verye deede, thoughe he
ought to haue defended: yet if they refused
their deliuery, he threatned to bring against
them, both the horsemen & the Elephantes.
The footemenne were amased with the so-
deinnes of the mischieke, whych they loked
not for: and there was no more counsell nor
courage in Meleager, then in the rest: but
they all iudged it most expedient for them,
rather to abide ỹ aduenture of that requeſt,
then further to hasarde fortune. Whē Per-
dicas sawe them astonied and in feare, he
seuered out to the number of three hundred
of suche as followed Meleager, when hee
brake out of the assemblie, that was fyrste
made after Alexanders death: which in the
syghte of all the armye were caste to the
Elephauntes, and there trampled to death
wyth theyre feete, of whyche matter Phi-
lyppe was neyther the authour, nor the
forbidder: but thought to claime that for his

owne

owne doing, which shoulde appeare beste in the end. This was a signification and a beginnyng vnto the Macedons of ciuill wars that ensued. Peleager vnderstanding ouerlate the sleight of that deuice, because there was noe violence offred vnto his persone, stoode at the first quietly within the square: but shortly after, when he saw his enemies abusing to his destruction the name of hym whom he hadde made king, hee despaired of his owne sauegarde, and fled into a temple. But the religion of the place could not so defend him, but that he was there slaine. Perdicas hereupon brought againe the army into the citie: and calling a counsaile of all the principall personages, it was agreed so to deuide the Empire, that the kyng should remaine as chief of the whole: Ptholomeus to be lieutenaunt in *Egipt* and *Aphricke*, and to haue the rule of the nacions there, ỹ were vnder the Macedons dominion. *Siria* and *Phenices* were appoited to Laomedō, *Cilicia* to Philotas. *Licia* w̄ *Pamphilia*, & ỹ greater *Phrigia*, were assygned to Antigonus. Cassander was sent into *Caria*, & Menander into *Cidia*. The lesser *Phrigia* that ioyned vnto *Hellespont*, was Leonat' prouince Eumenes had *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*,

who

who was commaunded to defende that countrey so farre as *Trapezunt*, and make warre to *Ariaraches*, whiche onely remayned enemy to the Empire. *Media* was appointed to Python, & *Thrace* to Lysmachus with other nacions thereabout bordering vppon the sea of *Ponte*. It was ordeyned also that suche as shoulde bee presidentes emonges the Indians, Bactrians, Sogdians, & other nacyons lyyng vpō the *Occean* and redde seas, shoulde in matter of iustice vse regall iurisdiccion. It was decreed that Perdicas shoulde remaine with the kyng, & haue the gouernaunce of the men of warre that followed him. Some beleue that these prouinces were distributed by Alexanders testament: but we haue founde the same to be false, though some authour do witnesse the same. The Empire being deuyded into partes, euery one myght well haue defended his portion, if any boundes coulde conteine mens immoderate desires: Or if they beyng but ministers vnto a kynge, when vnder the colour of the administracion of an others dominion they hadde encroched into so greate kyngdomes, coulde haue auoyded the occasions of warre, seeyng they were all of one nacyon, and hadde theyre

countreys

countreies appointed out by limittes. But it is harde for menne to bee contented wyth that they haue in possession, when occasion is profered them of more. For the fyrste thynges alwayes appeare of no valure, when menne be in hoape of greater thinges to come: So that euery one of them thought it an easier matter to encrease hys kyngdome, then it was to gette it at the fyrste. Aleranders bodye in the meane season laye seuen dayes vnburied: for whyles euerye man hadde care vppon the establyshing of the state, their myndes were drawen from the doyng of that solemne office. There is no Countrey more feruente of heat, then *Mesopotamia*. For the sunne there burneth so hoate, that it killeth the beastes that be without couert, and burneth vp all thynges as it were wyth fyre. And to the encrease thereof, there be fewe springes of water, and the inhabiters vse suche policye in hydynge of those they haue, that straungers can haue no vse of them. This notwythstandynge, when Aleranders frendes had gotten leysure to take care of the dead corps, and came to visite the same, they founde it wythout infeccion, corruption, or chaunge of colour: the same cherefulnesse

fulnes which consisteth of the spirit, not be-
ing yet departed oute of his countenaunce.
Then the Egipcians and the Taldeis were
commaunded to dresse his bodye after theire
maner: who at the first (as though he hadde
been aliue) had a feare to put their hands to
him. But afterwards making their praiers
that it might be lawfull for mortall men to
touche him, they purged his body, and filled
it with swete odours: And afterwards laid
him vppon a hearse of golde, and set a Dya-
deme vpon his head. Many thought that he
dyed of poyson, and that Iolla Antipaters
sonne being one of his ministers, had geuen
him the same. Alexander oftentimes would
say, that Antipater coueted the estate of a
kyng, affecting more greatnes then pertay-
ned to a lieutenaunt, & that through glorye
of the victory hee had gotten of the Lacede-
monians, was become so proud, that he clay
med al things commytted vnto him as hys
own. It isthought also that Craterus was
sent to kill him, wyth those olde souldyonrs
that were dimissed. It is certaine ỹ there is
a poyson in Macedon found in a water cal-
led *Sustistiges*, of such force, that it consumeth
Iron, and will not be cõteyned in any thing
sauing in ỹ hoaue of an horse or mule: which

poyson

poyson was brought by Cassander, and deliuered to his brother Iolla, whiche presented it in the drinke that the king last dronk. Howsoeuer these thinges bee reported, the power of them of whom the rumour went, shortly after oppressed the infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & of Greece, and his children after him: whyche put to death al such as were any thing nere of kinne vnto Alexander. Ptholomeus (which had the rule of Egipt) conueied Alexanders body to *Memphis*, whiche within few yeares after was remooued to *Alexandria*, where as all honour is geeuen to the memory of him, & to hys name.

(.*.)

FINIS.

A Table whereby you may redylie fynd out any notable *matter contayned in this booke.*

A.

Abdolominus a pooze man chosen kynge of Sydon by the Sydons. 49. his aunswere to Alexander. 50

Abulites bringeth presēts to Alexander. 108

Achilles. 16

Achatera abandoned by ꝑ inhabitants. 236

Ada Queene of Caria adopteth Alexander to her sonne & heire. 17

Agis kyng of the Lacedemonians moued warre against Antipater gouernour of Macedon. 52. wounded. 137. slayne. 138

Alexander elder brother to kyng Philip slayn by the procurement of Euridice his mother. 1

Alexander kyng of Macedon borne. 3. his answere at the game called Olimpiacum. 3. answereth Ambassadors in hys fathers absence. 3. his talke to his play felowes beig a child. 5

Alexander rydeth on Bucephalus. 5. almost slayne by Philip his father. 8. made king of Macedons 9. inuadeth Darius land 16. the cause why hee entred Perlie. 16. winneth Miletum. 17. Sickneth bathing in ꝑ Ryuer Cidnus. 26. his wozds to his Phisicions. 28. 29. 30. his wozdes in hys sicknesse. 29. his host almost compassed by Darius. 38 comfozteth Darius mother. 42. 43. 44. taketh Darius sonne in his armes. 45. wziteth to Darius. 48. his wozdes to Abdolominus. 50. encreseth his dominions. 50. his wozdes to the Tirian Ambassadozs. 53. besiegeth Tyze. 52. buyldeth a Mole in the Sea 55. the Mole destroyed 57. buyldeth it againe. 57 aunswereth Darius letters. 64. wounded wyth an arrowe. 68. his legge hurt. 68.

Alexander goeth to visite Jupiters Oracle. 70. the answer he there receiued 72. willeth him selfe to be called the sonne of Jupiter. 73. appointeth gouernours ouer Egipt. 73. lamēteth Darius vertues death. 80. answereth Darius Embassadours 83. his answer to Parmenio. 83. his answere to Parmenio concerning his opinion in settinge on Darius hoste. 88. is fearfull. 88. reported to bee ouerthrowen. 95. in daunger. 100 geueth cloth of Purple to Darius mother. 109. Guyded by an herdman to the Taxions. 114. his practise in the besieging of a Rocke. 133. winneth Artacnan. 133. bewayleth with teares Darius death. 136. geuen to banqueting. 139. entreth Hircania 144. greatly moued for ye losse of his horse Bucephalus. 148. geuen to ryot and wantonnesse 150. burneth all his Cariage. 151. deliuered from great perill of treasō. 169 goeth against the Araspians. 178. Alexander passeth ye mount Caucasus. 180. entreth the deserres of the Sustanes. 185. his gentle answere to a poore souldier ye offred him water. 186. his Camp 182. wounded 190. 192. 266. his words to Bessus beeing taken 189. thought to be fearefull. 194. his woordes to his frendes in his sickenesse. 194. his wordes to Aristander. 195. his power discomfited. 197. buricth ye bones of his souldiours. 201. buyldeth vi. townes in Scithia. 203 besiegeth a Rocke there 203. sendeth men to clim the rock. 204. his words to them. 204. kylleth a Lyon at one stroke. 208. aduaunteth his deedes at a banquet. 209. kylleth Clytus 212. lamēteth his death. 212. his curtesye to one of his souldiers. 220 marieth Roxane. 221. cōmaunded his souldiers to call him God. 222. hys answer to Hermolaus 229. wounded. 237. hys liberalitie to his souldiours. 253. his wordes to Demophon a diuiner. 265

Alex-

Alexander besiegeth a Citie of the Oxidracans. 265. entreth alone into a Citie of his enemyes. 265. fyghteth valyantlye 266. rescued by some of his Capitaines. 267. his woordes to his Surgeon. 268. wandzeth in an vnknowen Kyuer. 274 counterfaiteth Bacchus 284. what he compassed to doe. 287. causeth the tomb of Cyrus to bee opened. 288. his woorders there. 289. marieth Statira Darij eldest daughter. 291. his liberalitie at that mariage. 291. payeth all his Souldiours dettes. 293. commeth to Babilon. 298. Ambassadours come to hym frō all Nacions. 298. is poysoned. 298. his woordes in his death bedde 299. geeueth hys Kyng to Perdicas. 299. dyeth 299. his description. 302 303. hys Empire deuyded among many of hys Captaynes. 313. buryed 314. conueyed to Memphis. 314. remoued to Alexandzia. 315

Alexanders death greatly lamented 299. 300

Alexander a capptaine of Alexanders slayne 240

Alexandzia buyit by Alexander. 73. 180. 276. 193

Alexāder Lincestes suspected of treason. 176. executed foz it. 176

Amazones how they be attyzed. 148

Ambassadozs from Darius to Alexander to entreat of peace. 82. of the Scithiās. 198. their Ambassage to Alexander. 198

Amintas flyeth. 51. discomfiteth the Egipcians 51. slayne. 51. suspecte of Treason. 170. excuseth hym selfe. 172. pardoned. 274

Antigonus gouernour of Lydia. 52. discomfiteth the Persians. 52

Antipater gouernour of Macedone. 52. 138. called out of Macedone by Alexander. 297. conspireth to poyson Alexander. 297

Andzomachus burned 74

Arabia a fertill countrey. 105
Arabian enterpriseth to kil Alexander. 68
Arare yeldeth to Alexander. 48
Arbella geuen vp to Alexander. 105
Army of Alexander greatly distressed in entrig the countrey of Gabala. 218.
Arians yelde. 184
Arideus Alexanders brother chosen kyng of the Macedons. 306. 307. his oration to the Macedons. 309
Aristotle Alexanders Tutor. 5
Aristander aunswereth Alexander. 195
Ariston kylleth Satropases. 78. brought his head to Alexander. 78
Arsanes putteth in practise Memnons counsell. 25. retyreth. 25
Artabasus wordes to Darius. 125. to Alexander 186
Ascates Darius lieutenant yeldeth. 70
Aspastis a Prince put to death. 285
Athenians ouercome by the Macedons. 7
Athenodorus slayne at a banquet. 272

B.

Babylon described. 103 104. 105.
Bagoas an Eunuch. 149.
Battell betwene Darius and Alexander. 39. 94
Battell noblye fought betwene Alexander and the Lacedemonians. 137
Bessus dissēbleth his treason. 130. woulde haue slaine Cobares. 182. forsaken of his souldiours 182. taken by his owne frēds 187. brought to Alexāder. 188. 189. sent to Ochatan to suffer death. 203. committed to Oxatres Darius brother to be executed. 189
Betis forsaken of his men 69. Receiueth manye woundes. 69. drawen by horses. 69
Bibon yelded to Alexander. 49
Bicon deliuered from deth 273
Bion a fugitiue from the Persian host. 91
Bizancium besieged. 6
Boorde whereon Darius was wont to eate. 10. 108
Bubacen subdued. 222
Bucephalus Alexanders horse. 5. lost. 148

Bucephalon buylded by Alexander. 261
Bzanchidans yelde. 188 slaine. 188

C.

Calanus an Indian burned him selfe. 290
Calistenes speeche to Cleo perswading the Macedons to worship Alexander as a God. 223. racked. 231
Captaines of Alexander accused of misgouernement. 285. put to death 286
Catenes an excellent archer. 189
Cawnians brought to the obeysance of Alexander. 31
Ceballinus geueth understanding to Philotas of treason conspired against Alexander. 156. Discloseth it to Alexander. 156
Cenus Bzation to Alexãder. 259. dieth. 261
Charidemus woordes to Darius. 21. put to death. 22
Childe crucified by the Tirians. 60.
Choise of the kyngdome of Sidon committed to Ephestion. 49
Cilenas yelded to Alexander. 18
Ciropolis besieged. 191
Citizens of Nisa yeld. 235
Cobares a Musician. 181 his woordes to Bessus 181. 182. escapeth to Alexander. 181
Combat fought betweene Dioxippus and Horratas 275. betwene Satibarzanes & Erigius. 184
Cohortanus submitteth him selfe to Alexander. 220
Clytus in his dronkennes vttereth woordes that, much displeased Alexander. 210. his woordes to Alexander. 210. slayne by Alexander. 212
Craterus Bzation to Alexander. 270
Crowne of Golde sent to Alexander by ỹ Greekes 64
Custome among the Macedons in purging the armye. 312
Custome among the Persians to keye secret their kynges doinges. 66

D.

Dahans yelde. 218. theire

ruſtume in battayle. 196
Darius his dreame. 22 counſeled to retyre backe 32. his woordes to hys Souldiours. 32. his hoſte put out of order. 35. ſpoyled and vanquiſhed 40. his Campe ſpoyled 41. his Pauilion left vnſpoiled. 41. his mother, wyfe, ſonne and daughters taken priſoners. 41. wryteth to Alexander. 48. calleth him king. 63. his letters for the betrayyng of Alexander intercepted. 80. his wife dyeth. 80. prouydeth a new battell. 75. flyeth. 40. 48 98. arryueth at Arbella 99. caſteth away hys Diademe. 40. his aunſwere to Nabarzanes 122. 128. forſaken of hys Guarde. 130. his aunſwere to Patron. 130 his woordes to Bubacen 131. taken priſoner by his owne menne. 131. bounde wyth Golden Fetters 133. his woordes to Beſſus. 134. wounded by Beſſus. 135. his woordes to Poliſtratus as hee laye dying. 136. hys meſſage to Alexander a lyttle before hys deathe. 136. dyeth. 136
Death of Erigonus. 216
Dedeia abandoned of thinhabitants. 136
Demetrius accuſed of Treaſon. 169
Democritus ſlayeth hymſelfe. 147
Demoſthenes. 10. 11
Deſcripcion of Babylon. 104
Deſcripcion of India. 231 232. 233. 234
Deſcripcion of a Mountaine in India. 236
Deuyſe of Alexander in cauſyng his Souldiours to wryte letters home 177. to paſſe the Ryuer of Oxus. 186
Dimnus apprehended. 156 woundeth him ſelfe. 157 dyeth. 157
Diogenes. 15
Diuiners on Darius dreame. 23
Dioxipp⁹ accuſed of ſlothfulnes. 173. killeth hymſelfe. 175
Diſſenciō among the Macedons after Alexanders death. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310 311.

Dorinis a Rocke besieged by Alexander. 239. wonne. 241.

E.

Eclipse of the Moone. 78 Interpretacion thereof 79

Egle flyeth ouer Alexanders head. 97.

Empire of Alexander deuyded amonge manye of his Captaynes. 313

Ephestion thought to bee Alexander. 43. 44. most deere to Alexander. 43. dyeth. 298

Epheſos possessed by Alexander. 17

Erix slayne. 241. hys head brought to Alexander. 241

Euell tydynges brought to Alexander. 183 184

Eurilochus discloseth the treason conspired against Alexander. 224

Euridice conspyreth the death of her husband Amintas. 1

Exhortacion of the Sydons to Abdolominus chosen theyre kynge. 50

F.

Famyne in Alexanders Camp. 285.

Fountayne boylyng out plentye of Pytche. 103

G.

Gaza besieged. 66. wonne. 69.

Getes. 12. their best Citie taken by Alexander 12

Greekes rebell. 272

H.

Hagis a naughtie Poet 222

Harpalus flyeth in greate excesse. 291. flyeth to Athens. 292. banished that Citie. 292. slayne 292

Hector Parmenio his sonn drowned. 37
Hermolaus accused of treson. 228. his woordes to Alexander. 228. 229
Hispidis slayn. 196
Host of Darius. 21
Hunger in Alexanders Camp. 182

I.

India described. 232

K.

Kyng of Samus yelded 277

L.

Lacedemonians pardoned by Alexander. 139
Liconia wonne. 64

M.

Macedons in greate distresse. 98. overthrowen 189. offended with Alexanders lasciuious liuyng 139. 151. greatly troubled in choosyng a successour to Alexander. 303 304. 305. 306. 307. gretly distressed after Alexanders death. 308. 309. 310. 311
Maners of the Babiloni-ans verie corrupt. 105
Maracanda besieged. 190 taken. 192
Mazdus a traytor to Darius. 46. slaine. 47. his head brought to Darius 47
Mardons a people adioynyng to Persia. 122. 147 their deuise in wrethyng of trees. 147
Mazeus flyeth. 99. yeldeth Babylon to Alexander 103
Mazage besieged. 237. yelded. 238
Meleager slayn in a Temple. 313
Memnon lieutenaunt ouer the Trachosians. 178
Memacenans kyll Alexanders Embassadours 192
Menedemus slaine. 196
Meroe buyld by Bacchus 236.
Miletum wonne by Alexander. 17. 65
Miserie of Darius hoste 100
Mitilene yelded. 65
Monsters. 54. 61
Murmuring of Alexanders souldiours agaynste him. 78
Myndians brought to Alexanders obeysance. 131.

Ma-

N.

Nabarzanes woordes to Darius. 122. his letters to Alexander. 144. pardoned. 149
Nauye of Alexãder dzowneth all Darius shippes apointed to make warre vppon the cost of Hellespont. 52
Nicomachus discloseth the treason conspired against Alexander. 155
Nicea buylded by Alexander. 261
Nicanor slayne 245
Nicanor Parmenio hys sonne dyeth. 152
Nobilitie of Persia taken prisoners. 47. pardoned and set at libertie. 140
Noblemen of Sogdians taken. 202. their woords to Alexander. 202
Number of Alexanders host. 222
Number of Darius whole army. 85
Number of those that wer slayne in the battaile betwene Alexander & Darius. 42

O.

Officers appointed by Alexander. 107. 218
Oration of Alexander to his souldiours. 91. 142 257. 259. 293. 294. to certein of his Captaines 271. to his straunge souldiers. 295.
Oration of one of Alexanders souldiers vnto hym 296
Oration of Darius to hys souldiers. 92. 102. 124
Oracle at Delphos cõcerning Alexander. 5
Order of Alexanders host 36
Order of Alexanders battaile. 90
Order of Darius armye arranged to fyght. 36
Order of Darius battayle 85
Orsines yeldeth. 288. imprisoned. 289. put to deth 289
Oxidates a prisoner delyuered. 140
Oxicanus slaine. 276

P.

Palemon taken. 174. his wordes to the army. 174 pardoned. 174
Paphlagonia yelded to Alexander. 20. wonne. 64
Parke of wyld bestes. 208
Paramisadans a rude

people.178
Parmenio made gouernor of Syria. 48. hys oppinion for the delyuerye of Darius mother. 83. his pollecye in settynge on Darius hoste. 87. accused of treason by Alexander.160. embraceth Polidamus the kynges messenger. 176. slayne by Cleander at Alexanders appointment. 176 his head sent to Alexander.177. his description 177
Pasatigras a Ryuer. 109.
Pathalia taken. 278
Patron his words to Darius .129.130
Pausamas murtherer of kyng Philip.8. misused by Attalus.8
Persagadis wonne. 121
Perdicas affecteth the succession of Alexander.304 305.306.307
Perdicas brother to kyng Phillippe slayne by hys mother.1
Persians 17. slayne.17. their custome in warre 23. Order of their marching. 23. burne theyre own countrey.79. Hamēt the death of Alexander 301
Persepolis wonne by Alexander.119. burned 123
Pestilence in Alexanders Camp.285
Phegelas yeldeth to Alexander.256
Philip father of Alexander kyng of Macedon.1. geuen in hostage to the Illirtians 1.to the Thebans.1 compelled to bee kyn go the Macedons.2. wynneth Larissa. 2.subdueth the Thessaliens. 2. marieth Olimpias.3 subdueth the Citie of Methron 3.loseth his ryght eye.3 winneth the citie of Pagus. 3. conquereth the Tribalies and all theire countrey. 3. chosen generall Captaine agaynste the Lacedemonians and the Phoceans by ỹ Thebans. 4. subdueth the Lacedemonians, the Phoceans and the Thebans.4. conquereth Olynthus. 4. made hym selfe kynge of Thrace.4. becommeth a Pirat. 6 goeth to Chersonesſus 6.subdueth Scithia. 6. wounded

wounded by the Tryballes. 7. hath ii. wiues 7. woulde haue slayne his sonne Alexander. 8 is slayne. 8

Philip of Acarnan Alexanders Phisicion. 28. his aunswere to Alexander. 29. embraced of the Macedons. 30. suspected of them. 29

Philip brother to Lisimachus a noble young man 215. dyeth. 216

Philotas doth not open to Alexander the Treason conspired againste hym 156. accused of Treason. 157. pardoned. 157. called to a banquet by Alexander. 159. apprehended. 160. racked. 167 his confession. 168. executed. 169

Phisicion of Ephestion hanged. 298.

Phradates put to death 286

Phyton hanged vppon a Crosse. 276

Pindarus. 14.

Polidamus sent to kyll Darmenio. 175

Polistratus fyndeth Darius half dead. 136

Policye of Spitamenes to betraye Bessus 287

Porus prepareth to Battell againste Alexander 243. taken. 251. hys aunswere to Alexander. 251 restored to hys kyngdome. 252

Presentes brought to Alexander out of India. 275

Princes of India submitt thē selues to Alexander. 234

R.

Rauen flyeth by Alexander. 66

Rebellion agaynst Alexander. 10

Redd Sea named of Erithrus. 286

Rhodians yeld to Alexander. 64

Rocke taken by Alexander. 205. 206

Rope knotted on Midas wagon. 19

Roxane a fayre Mayden 220. maryed to Alexander. 221

S.

Sabrãcans yelded. 276
Sacans yelde. 201
Sardes conquered. 17
Satrapases slayne. 78
Satibarzanes slayne in a combat. 184
Scio besieged. 65. wonne. 65
Scithians ouerthrowen 200
Semiramis buylder of Babylon. 104
Serpentes breede in the Caspian sea. 145
Seruitors in Alexanders warres rewarded. 108
Sisigambis Darius mother, her woordes to Alexander. 44. dyeth. 302
Sisenes put to death. 32
Sisimithres king of Maura. 214. yeldeth to Alexander. 215. his wyfe a noble woman. 215
Situation of Cilicia. 26
Sobions vanquished. 261
Sophites besieged. 255 yelded 255. their custome in bringing vp their children. 256
Solos yelded to Alexander. 31
Souldiours of Alexander murmure agaynste hym 294. be sory for it. 297
Spitamenes a noble man among the Dahans deliuereth Bessus to Alexander. 189. woulde haue slaine his wife. 217 slaine by his wife. 217 his hed presented by hys wife to Alexander. 217
Spring of water founde in Alexanders tent. 203
Statira maried to Alexãder. 291
Susa deliuered to Alexander. 108
Summe of coyned money taken from Darius. 47
Sulistiges a kynd of poyson in Macedonia. 314
Sydon yelded to Alexander. 49
Symmachus slaine. 249
Symannas suspecte of treason. 170

T.

Tarson burned. 26
Taxiles slaine by Porus 240
Tempest. 218
Tenedon wonne. 65
Thalestris Queene of the Amazons. 149. commeth to see Alexander. 149 the cause why shee doth so. 149
Thais an harlot perswadeth Alexander to burne the Pallace of Persepolis. 133.

Thebans vanquished. 14. slaine. 14. solde. 14
Thebes rased to the groūd by Philip. 38
Thinhabitauntes of Xenippa vanquished. 212
Timeus slaine. 267. 271
Timoclea. 14
Tigre a Ryuer. 77. Alexander and his host wade ouer it. 77
Trees in Hircania whose leues bere hony. 146
Treasure of Darius spoyled by the Macedons 46
Treason conspired against Darius. 121
Treason conspired against Alexander. 154. 225
Tryumph at the entraunce of Alexander into Babylon. 104
Triballes 11. slayne. 12
Tumult in Alexanders Campe. 141
Tyre a Citie. 52. thinhabitaunts therof sent presentes vnto Alexander. 52. they drowned Alexanders Ambassadours 54. Conquered. 62. fyrst teacher of good letters. 63

V.

Vynes preserued from the violence of colde. 179.
Vrians besieged. 110. conquered. 111. pardoned 111

W.

Want of water in Alexanders Camp. 185

Z.

Zioberis a Ryuer in Hircania 144. a strange vertue of it. 144. Alexander tryeth the vertue thereof by casting in of ii. bulles 144

Finis.

¶ Imprinted at London
in Fletestrete within Temple
Barre at the signe of the hand
and Starre by Ry=
charde Tottyl.
1571.